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THE HISTORY OF HINDS COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI  
BEFORE 1860

TABLE by CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION . . . . .	Hazel Shelton Ruff	17
CHAPTERS		
I. CREATION AND ORGANIZATION . . . . .		21
II. JACKSON, THE CAPITAL OF MISSISSIPPI . . . . .		22
III. AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY . . . . .		23
IV. TOWNS AND COMMUNITIES . . . . .		24
V. SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY . . . . .		25
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .		162

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1941





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	iv
CHAPTERS	
I. CREATION AND ORGANIZATION . . . . .	1
II. JACKSON, THE CAPITAL OF MISSISSIPPI . . . . .	13
III. AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES. . . . .	32
IV. TOWNS AND COMMUNITIES . . . . .	68
V. SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES. . . . .	105
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	168

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## ILLUSTRATIONS

	Following Page
MAP OF MISSISSIPPI, 1822 . . . . .	1
ORIGINAL MAP OF JACKSON, 1822. . . . .	15
FIRST STATE HOUSE AT JACKSON . . . . .	16
CAPITOL. . . . .	18
GOVERNOR'S MANSION . . . . .	24
MAP OF HINDS COUNTY. . . . .	68
STEAM FIRE ENGINE. . . . .	94
BOWMAN HOUSE . . . . .	99

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## INTRODUCTION

Distance lends enchantment and even the mention of the ante-bellum period recalls pictures of magnificent plantation homes, numerous devoted slaves, elegant ladies in fashionable hoop-skirts, well-dressed gentlemen, and the endless succession of social affairs. However these scenes do not give the proper perspective of the conditions existing in the South and particularly in central Mississippi before 1860. This discussion is an attempt to present the manifold activities of the people in Hinds County, which developed from a wilderness inhabited by Indians to a prosperous, cultured, and religious community within the first forty years of its existence. An effort has been made to give a general idea of conditions as revealed after an examination of all the available sources for that period. The Northern soldiers so successfully destroyed the capital city that it was called "Chimneyville" after their visits in the 1860's. In this destruction many records were lost forever.

The information has been accumulated from the session acts and journals of the legislature, a few travel accounts, manuscripts,





and numerous newspapers. The source materials relative to the early history of the county are in the possession of various individuals and libraries as well as at the courthouse and Mississippi Department of Archives and History; consequently some valuable data may have been overlooked in the preparation of this study. Frequent quotations are used because the ante-bellum writers expressed themselves in phraseology characteristic of the times. The limitation of time and space prevents detailed comparison with other counties in the state or nation, but there is some attention given to the relation of Hinds County to the development of Mississippi and the South.

Dr. Joseph C. Robert has given invaluable assistance in supervising the writing of this account. Dr. William B. Hamilton and many others have contributed helpful suggestions in the collection of information. The writer acknowledges and appreciates the generosity and interest of all those who aided in the completion of this explanation of Hinds County from 1821 to 1860.

H.S.R.





## CHAPTER I

### CREATION AND ORGANIZATION

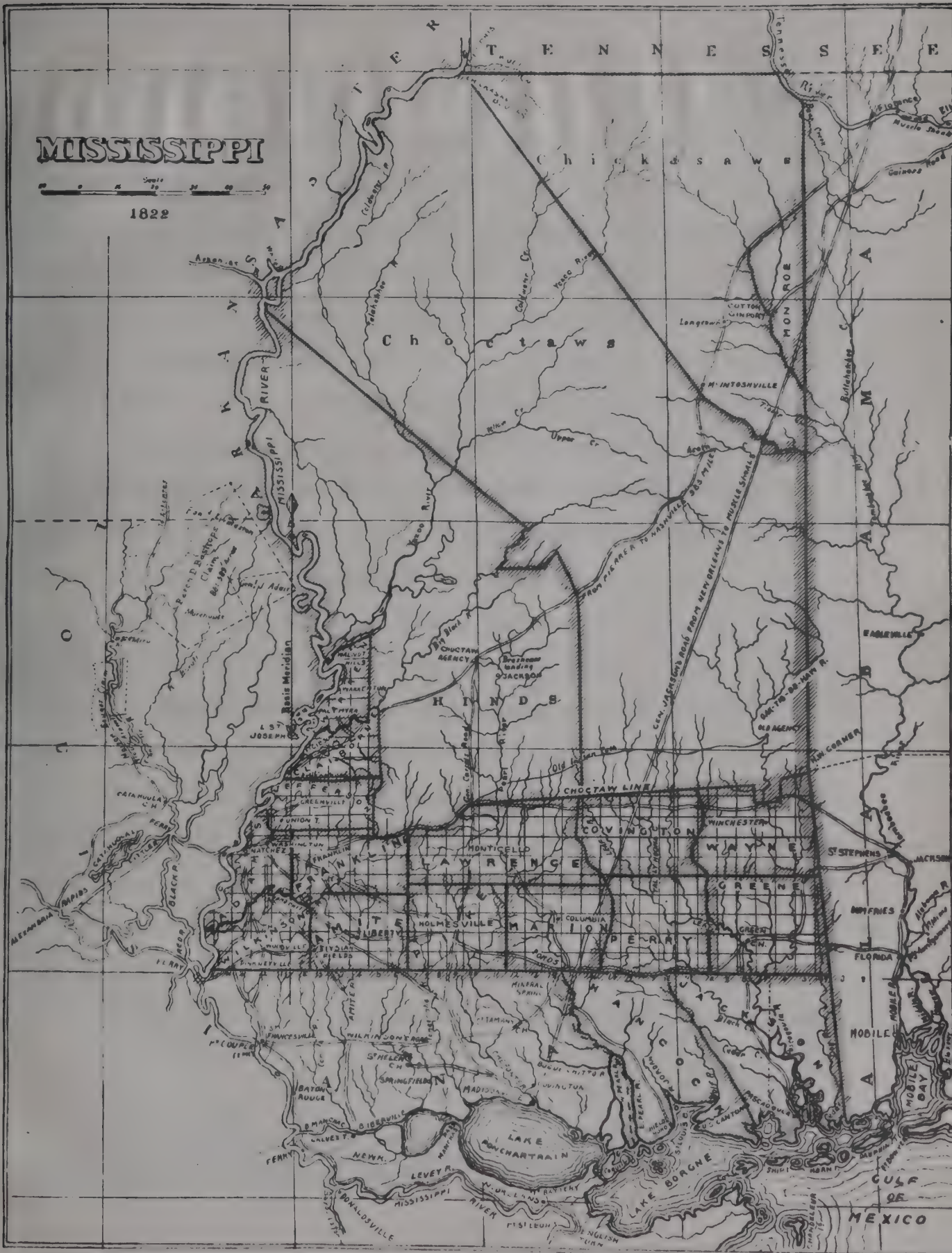
Hinds County, located in the central part of Mississippi, not only contains the capital of the state but because of its size, wealth, and population is today the most important of all the eighty-two counties. Indians occupied this region for centuries before Lefleur's Bluff, a trading post on Pearl River, was selected as the seat of the state government. The rapid influx of settlers was retarded by the inadequate means of transportation, but during the late 1820's and 1830's many people came from the eastern states and various European nations by way of New Orleans, the Mississippi River, and Vicksburg. They established homes and business connections in or near Clinton and Raymond, which were the first social and cultural centers in that portion of Mississippi. The development of the railroads and the concentration of political and administrative affairs at the capital enabled Jackson to become the largest and most influential town in the state.



# MISSISSIPPI

Scale 0 10 20 30 40 Miles

1822







As early as 1699 the French made a settlement at Biloxi, Mississippi, on the Gulf of Mexico; later they established a fort at Natchez on the Mississippi River to protect travelers between New Orleans and the Northern colony. Afterwards Great Britain and Spain controlled the territory before it became a part of the United States. All types of people inhabited this fertile, picturesque land and caused Natchez to develop a cosmopolitan atmosphere with great wealth and culture entirely free of the Indians. The more remote interior section, including what later became Hinds County, was penetrated by only a few white men until several years after Mississippi was admitted as a state in the Union, December 10, 1817.

In 1820 Major General Andrew Jackson and General Thomas Hinds were named Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States to confer with Chief Mushulatubbe and the warriors of the Choctaw nation for the purpose of arranging a treaty of friendship, limits, and accommodation. The representatives met for several days at Doak's Stand, a tavern about four miles north of Pearl River, in the southeastern part of the present county of Madison.<sup>1</sup> Pushmataha, as spokesman for the Choctaws, demanded not only that the land between the Red and Arkansas Rivers be given to the tribe but also that the United States should furnish

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<sup>1</sup> John B. Colvin (comp.), Laws of the United States of America, from the 4th of March, 1815, to the 4th of March, 1821 (Washington, 1822), 765.





each warrior "a good rifle gun, bullet molds, a camp kettle, one blanket, and ammunition to last one year, and corn to support them on their journey and for one year after getting there." Among other things he requested that the national government send a good agent and a blacksmith, furnish a trading post with Indian goods, appoint a man to collect the "straggling" Choctaws, pay for the well-built homes they left in Mississippi, and compensate the warriors who fought at Pensacola.<sup>2</sup> Besides these provisions, the United States granted \$150 annually to Moshulatubbe for the remainder of his life.<sup>3</sup>

The Treaty of Doak's Stand was formally signed on October 18, 1820, by Andrew Jackson and Thomas Hinds, commissioners of the United States, more than one hundred Indians, and fifteen witnesses; there were only a few names that did not show the individual's mark instead of his signature. This treaty was ratified on January 8, 1821, and put into effect when President James Monroe issued an executive proclamation.<sup>4</sup> Further concessions and arrangements were included in another treaty signed

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<sup>2</sup>Gideon Lindeum, "Life of Apushimataha," in Mississippi Historical Society, Publications, 19 vols. (Oxford and University 1898-1914; Centenary Ser., Jackson, 1917-1925), IX (1906), 470-473.

<sup>3</sup>Colvin (comp.), Laws of the United States, 766-768.

<sup>4</sup>The Statutes at Large of the United States of America... 1789-1873, 17 vols. (Boston, 1845-1873), VII (1846), 210-214. Hereinafter this reference is cited as United States, Statutes at Large.



by delegates of the Choctaws and representatives of the United States in Washington, on January 20, 1825.<sup>5</sup> The General Assembly of Mississippi passed resolutions thanking Andrew Jackson and Thomas Hinds for "their patriotic and indefatigable exertions in effecting a treaty" which caused the Indians to relinquish claim to 5,600,000 acres of land in the central part of the state.<sup>6</sup>

On February 12, 1821, Hinds County was created with these boundaries:

Beginning on the Choctaw boundary, east of Pearl River, at a point due south of the White Oak Spring on the Old Indian path, thence a direct line to a black oak standing on the Natchez road, about forty poles eastward from Doak's fence, marked A. J. and blazed, with two large pines and a black oak standing near thereto and marked as pointers; thence a straight line to the head of Black Creek or Bogue Loosa to a small lake; thence a direct course so as to strike the Mississippi one mile below the Yazoo river; thence along the line heretofore known by the name of the Indian Boundary line, to the beginning. 7

This area proved entirely too large for the proper administration

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<sup>5</sup> Treaties of the United States with the Choctaws and Chickasaw Indians, Printed by Order of the Senate (Jackson, 1836), 6.

<sup>6</sup> Laws of the State of Mississippi, Passed at the Fourth Session of the General Assembly, Held in the City of Natchez, 1821 (Natchez, 1821), 113-114. Place of meeting and publisher vary with the date, and General Assembly was later known as legislature. Hereinafter cited as Laws of Mississippi with the year only.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 97-99.





of government; consequently it was subdivided into the following  
 counties: Yazoo,<sup>8</sup> Copiah,<sup>9</sup> Rankin,<sup>10</sup> and Madison.<sup>11</sup>

The legislature provided for the first officers of Hinds County by authorizing the governor to appoint five justices of the quorum and as many justices of the peace and constables as he considered necessary. By an executive proclamation he called an election to determine persons to serve as officials for the full terms. Whenever he deemed it advisable, he had power "to create<sup>12</sup> a Superior Court and a County Court." An act of June 25, 1822, divided the county into five election districts; the voters in each selected one member of the board of police, two justices of the peace, and two constables.<sup>13</sup> After the governor established a system of courts in Hinds County, the sessions convened in the Representatives' Hall of the State House.<sup>14</sup> In 1829 the clerks of the Circuit, County, and Probate Courts were ordered to move<sup>15</sup> all books, records, and papers to Raymond; all legal matters

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<sup>8</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1823, 117.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 1828, 114-118.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 1829, 17; 1840, 73.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 1821, 97-99.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 1822, 15-16.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 1825, 147-148.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 1829, 9.





were transacted at that place until another judicial district<sup>16</sup> was created at Jackson in 1859. The Probate Court met once each month at Raymond for as long as six days, if that much time<sup>17</sup> was necessary to transact all business.

The county seat was temporarily located at Clinton, but on February 4, 1828, the legislature called a special election to select five men to determine the most advantageous site for the permanent courthouse and jail. The commissioners decided upon an elevation about one half mile west of the geographical center of the county. The act also instructed them to secure the<sup>18</sup> necessary land and contract for the two new buildings. Raymond Robinson, a wealthy planter, donated one-eighth section for the town, which was named Raymond in his honor.<sup>19</sup> Evidently construction was started immediately because the Hinds County Board of Police was authorized in 1830 and 1831 to levy a special tax<sup>20</sup> to complete the buildings. The original courthouse was probably small, as in 1838 the Board of Police advertised for bids to erect a two-story brick house forty feet long and twenty

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<sup>16</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1859-1860, 76-77.

<sup>17</sup> A. Hutchinson (comp.), Code of Mississippi: Being an Analytical Compilation of the Public and General Statutes of the Territory and State...from 1798 to 1848. (Jackson, 1848), 726, 729.

<sup>18</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1828, 117.

<sup>19</sup> Deed Book of Hinds County, 1829 (MSS., Hinds County Courthouse, Raymond, Mississippi.)

<sup>20</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1830, 57-58; 1831, 135.



feet wide. This fireproof structure was to contain the offices<sup>21</sup>  
of the clerks of the Circuit and Probate Courts.

In 1833 the legislature created a uniform system of county government for the entire state, giving most authority to the various groups in each county known as the boards of police. One member was chosen from every election district and three constituted a quorum. These men, acting as a group, had power to issue many kinds of licenses, erect public buildings, appoint overseers for the roads and bridges, levy taxes within the limits<sup>22</sup> set by the legislature, and approve the financial expenditures. Later the legislature enacted detailed instructions for regulating the highways, and permitted the Hinds County Board of Police to purchase any number of slaves and mechanics needed for such<sup>23</sup> maintenance. Also Hinds County was allowed to collect a<sup>24</sup> special poor tax, and later the legislature empowered the Board of Police to levy for general county purposes a tax equal to the<sup>25</sup> amount paid the state.

Each county board of police had some control over the

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<sup>21</sup> Minutes of the Proceedings of the Hinds County Board of Police Court, 1845-1846; 1858-1860 (MSS., in Hinds County Courthouse, Raymond, Mississippi).

<sup>22</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1833, 385-399.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 1854, 480-485, 166.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 1828, 119.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 1854, 165.





educational system; as long as the state-wide common schools created by the acts of 1846 and 1848 were in effect, the group appointed the county superintendent to enforce the provisions. In 1837 any board of police was granted the power to sell or donate county-owned land for the benefit of a school, academy,<sup>26</sup> or religious organization.

As in all the other counties, the Hinds County Board of Police issued a variety of special licenses. Henrietta Ingram, a free Negro, was granted permission to remain in Jackson after she provided the necessary bond of security and satisfactory evidence "of her good moral character, of good behavior, and the desire of the citizens that she stay in the town." Mark Mason posted a bond for \$1,000 and paid a \$300 fee to retail vinous and spirituous liquors at the Oak Tree Hotel in Raymond. The amount charged for operating boarding houses depended upon the size and location; for example, Henry Foote paid \$5 for his tavern at Cayuga, while H. Hilzheim paid \$100 for the Bowman House in Jackson. It cost \$10 annually "to peddle and hawk" on foot,<sup>27</sup> \$20 on horseback, and \$30 with a horse and buggy.

Typical of the expenditures approved by the Hinds County Board of Police were the following: William S. Jones, \$4.50 for

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<sup>26</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1837, 180.

<sup>27</sup> Minutes of the Hinds County Board of Police, 1858-1860.





lettering and putting up three mile posts on the Raymond and Brownsville road; W. T. Jones, \$3 for furnishing the room, stationery, ink, and paper at Newton during the general election; A. L. Dabney, \$23 for extra services as commissioner of the poor; M. Brown, \$100 for keeping Martha Shannon and her seven children; Hawls and McGuffie, \$127.94 for articles furnished a pauper; and W. R. Richardson, \$60.50 for medical attention to the paupers in the county. Purchases for the courthouse included \$70 for a Salamander safe, \$33.25 for painting and varnishing desks and tables, and \$18 for a dozen chairs. In the cupola of the court-<sup>28</sup> house was a large bell, which was bought in Cincinnati for \$200.

At the regular meeting in March, 1855, the Hinds County Board of Police discussed the erection of a new courthouse because the county was prosperous and the old building was shabby and inconvenient. A "distinguished architect of Jackson" received \$300 for drawing up plans, and the contractors submitted bids for the construction. For some unstated reason the matter was dropped, although expenses amounting to \$500 had been in-<sup>29</sup> curred. A few months later the Raymond citizens demanded action since the people in Jackson wanted to obtain the county site. An editorial in the Hinds County Gazette argued that

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<sup>28</sup> Minutes of the Hinds County Board of Police, 1858-1860.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.



Raymond, only one-half mile from the geographical center of the county, was "far healthier" and had been assured the permanent courthouse in return for constructing a railroad connecting the two towns. Possibly more important was the suggestion that the Raymond people would actively oppose any movement to establish the state capital at another location, if Jackson agreed for them to retain the seat of county government.<sup>30</sup>

By June, 1856, the board had let contracts to erect a large two-story brick courthouse on the vacant lot, one hundred yards north of the old building in Raymond.<sup>31</sup> The structure cost more than \$55,000 and combined beauty, safety, convenience, and durability. Additional expenses included \$1,386.83 to John Shelton for grading and paving around the building, and \$91.28 to James Lewis for the pavement between the courthouse and the street. The erection of a plank fence enclosing the courthouse yard cost \$93.68.<sup>32</sup>

In October, 1858, the sheriff and all the various county officers moved into the new courthouse, and the Board of Police drew up detailed regulations for its use. For example, each night all the window blinds were to be carefully closed, and the

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<sup>30</sup> Hinds County Gazette, December 26, 1855.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., June 11, 1856.

<sup>32</sup> Minutes of the Hinds County Board of Police, 1856-1860.





four external doors were to be securely locked. No person was permitted to occupy any part of the new building for lodging or sleeping rooms. The sheriff had full control of the bell in the cupola, but he was not allowed to ring it except for the sessions of the courts, public meetings, or fires. He was also responsible for keeping the buildings and grounds neat and orderly; each clerk was expected to maintain a clean office at all times.<sup>33</sup>

John Shelton superintended the construction of the new jail, which cost more than \$30,000. In November, 1859, W. H. Taylor received ninety-six dollars for transferring the prisoners and furnishings to the completed building.<sup>34</sup> The editor of the Hinds County Gazette called this a model prison and stated that it increased the fame of the contractors and showed the liberality and humanity of the people of Hinds County. He said each person viewing the structure was impressed by its strength, durability, neatness, and healthfulness. It was explained that "one hundred tons of iron and six thousand screw bolts, and other fixtures made it secure against fire, tempest, and flood."<sup>35</sup>

The courthouse and jail were the largest and by far the most expensive buildings in the small town of Raymond, which

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<sup>33</sup> Minutes of the Hinds County Board of Police, 1858-1860.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Hinds County Gazette, November 16, 1859.





still remains the county seat. Throughout the ante-bellum period the Board of Police regulated most of the county affairs, although some duties were reserved for the sheriff, assessor, tax collector, school trustees, commissioners of the poor, and clerks of the various courts. In general, Hinds had a system of government similar to that of the other counties in Mississippi; however a few laws affected only Hinds County, which contained the state capital. All sessions of the courts were held at Raymond from 1829 to 1859, when another judicial district was created at Jackson. Each incorporated town had its own officers, ordinances, and taxes according to the provisions of the charters granted by the legislature. In the first forty years of its existence, Hinds County changed from an isolated region occupied by the Indians to a prosperous region inhabited by 8,940 white people and 22,399 Negroes.<sup>36</sup> Railroads connected the county with New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi River and Vicksburg towards the west; improved roads facilitated travel throughout the central part of the state.

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<sup>36</sup> Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, 1864), 265, 269.



## CHAPTER II

### JACKSON, THE CAPITAL OF MISSISSIPPI

Natchez, in the extreme southwestern part of the state, was the social, cultural, and political center during the days of the Mississippi Territory. Before 1860 this region controlled state affairs by furnishing the principal officers; the planters and professional men of Natchez were able to dominate the poor, uneducated inhabitants of the "piney woods." The Choctaw Cession of 1820 opened 5,600,000 acres of fertile land to white settlers, who resented the supremacy of Natchez. Factionalism developed before Mississippi was admitted as a state in the Union, and one of the first victories for the frontier democrats was the removal of the capital one hundred miles north-<sup>1</sup>east of Natchez.

The development of the new settlement was retarded because

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<sup>1</sup>William Baskerville Hamilton, "American Beginnings in the Old Southwest: the Mississippi Phase" (MSS., Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1938, in Duke University Library), Chapter VI.





of its isolated location and the poor means of transportation. Until the latter part of the 1830's, Jackson was little more than a deserted village except during the sessions of the legislature and the courts; even the county seat was elsewhere. The erection of the impressive new Capitol and the Governor's Mansion made the people feel that the town would remain the permanent seat of the state government. For that reason and because workers were needed for the construction activities, many settlers came from all parts of the United States. After the railroad was completed from Vicksburg, numerous foreigners migrated from New Orleans up the Mississippi River and thence to Jackson. Congress donated two entire sections of land in one tract for the state capital;<sup>2</sup> certain of these lots were reserved for the erection of such public buildings as the temporary State House, the Capitol, Governor's Mansion, and schools.

In 1821 Thomas Hinds, William Lattimore, and James Patton were appointed by the legislature to select the most advantageous site for the permanent capital.<sup>3</sup> Hinds and Lattimore carefully investigated all possible locations within twenty miles of the geographical center of the state; and on November 20, 1821, they suggested Lefleur's Bluff, on the west bank of the Pearl River.

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<sup>2</sup>United States, Statutes at Large, III, 485.

<sup>3</sup>Hutchinson (comp.), Code of Mississippi, 98.





It was the only place they found possessing "an elevated position, pure water, wholesome air, fertile soil, useful timber, a navigable stream, and the advantage of public roads." Another argument was that sectional disputes were eliminated because all citizens had an equal interest in this unsettled area owned by the United States.<sup>4</sup> Eight days later the General Assembly authorized Thomas Hinds, William Lattimore, and Peter A. Vandorn to locate, as the permanent capital, "the east halves of sections three and ten, and the west halves of sections two and eleven, in township five, range one, east of the basis meridian."<sup>5</sup>

These commissioners were instructed to divide the town into lots and select the best sites for the public buildings. They were to appoint a person "of character and probity" to supervise the erection of "a commodious house on an economical plan for the reception of the General Assembly" at its next meeting. The superintendent was authorized to sell ten lots to responsible individuals, who would erect "a neat log or frame house thereon, not less than thirty feet in length," before the first Monday in November, 1822, and would pay for the property within two years.<sup>6</sup> The original map, drawn by Peter A. Vandorn

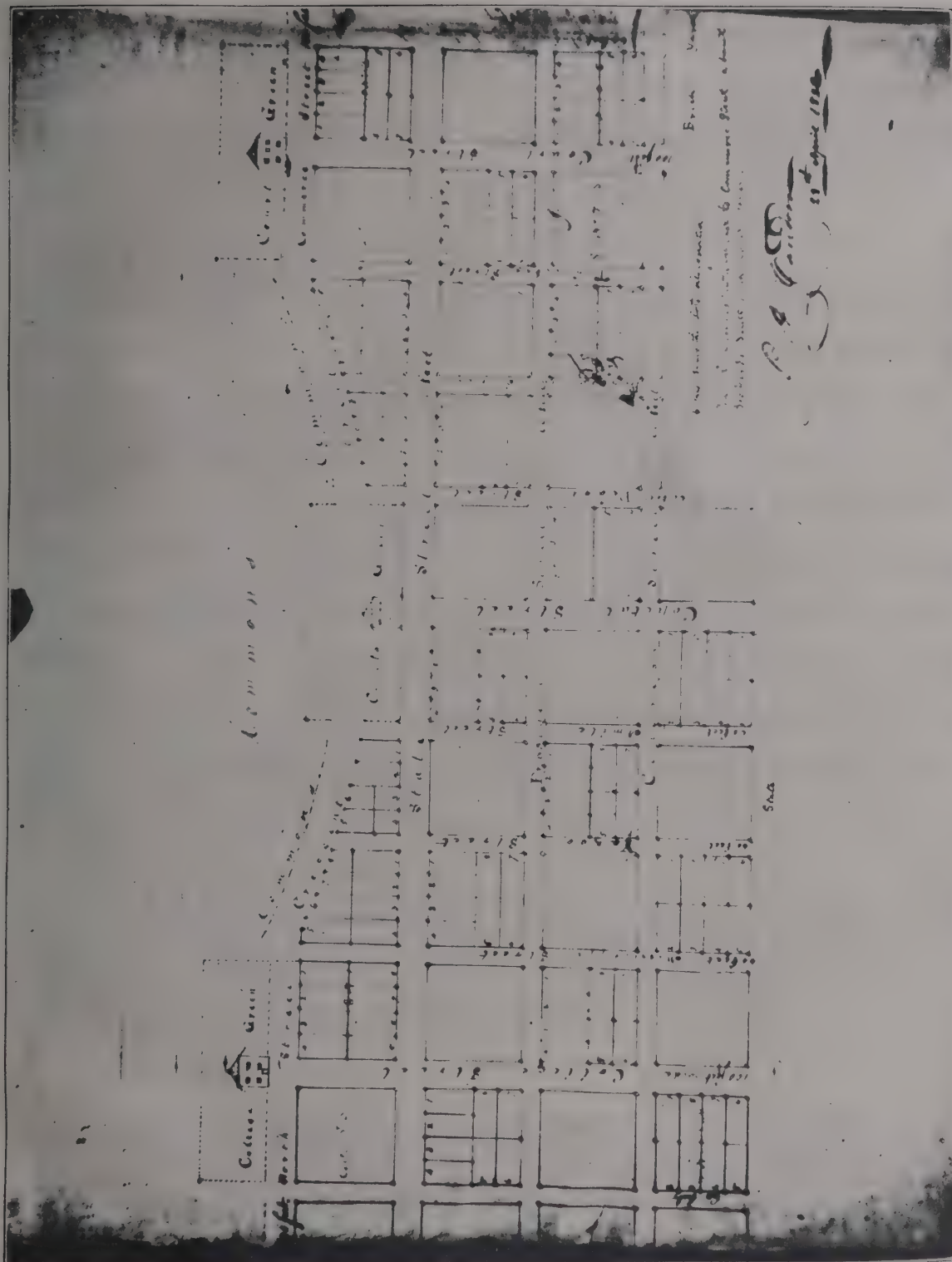
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<sup>4</sup>Dunbar Rowland, Mississippi, the Heart of the South, 4 vols. (Jackson, Chicago, 1925), I, 516-528, quoting the report made on November 20, 1821, to the General Assembly.

<sup>5</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1821, 137-139.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.





FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT MAP OF THE CITY OF JACKSON AS MADE BY THE COMMISSION CHARGED WITH THE DUTY OF LOCATING A CAPITAL FOR THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI





in 1822, shows that the town was laid off on the "checkerboard" plan with large square blocks and streets sixty feet and one hundred feet wide.<sup>7</sup> The men suggested that the alternate squares should be left as "commons" so as to increase the attractiveness, healthfulness, and comfort of the community.

An act of June 29, 1822, decreed that all future sessions of the General Assembly should be held in the new capital, which was named in honor of Andrew Jackson.<sup>8</sup> All of the state officers were required to move to the new location by the following December.<sup>9</sup> The General Assembly convened in Jackson for the first time on December 23, 1822, and met "in a house, the property of the State, and erected exclusively for the purpose of legislation."<sup>10</sup> This small two-story brick building was forty feet long and thirty feet wide and cost about \$3,000.<sup>11</sup> A plank walk extended from the back door of the Representatives' Hall to a saloon on the next corner; this establishment was well

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<sup>7</sup> Map of Jackson, April 28, 1822, by Peter A. Vandorn (Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi). See map following p.15.

<sup>8</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1821, 137.

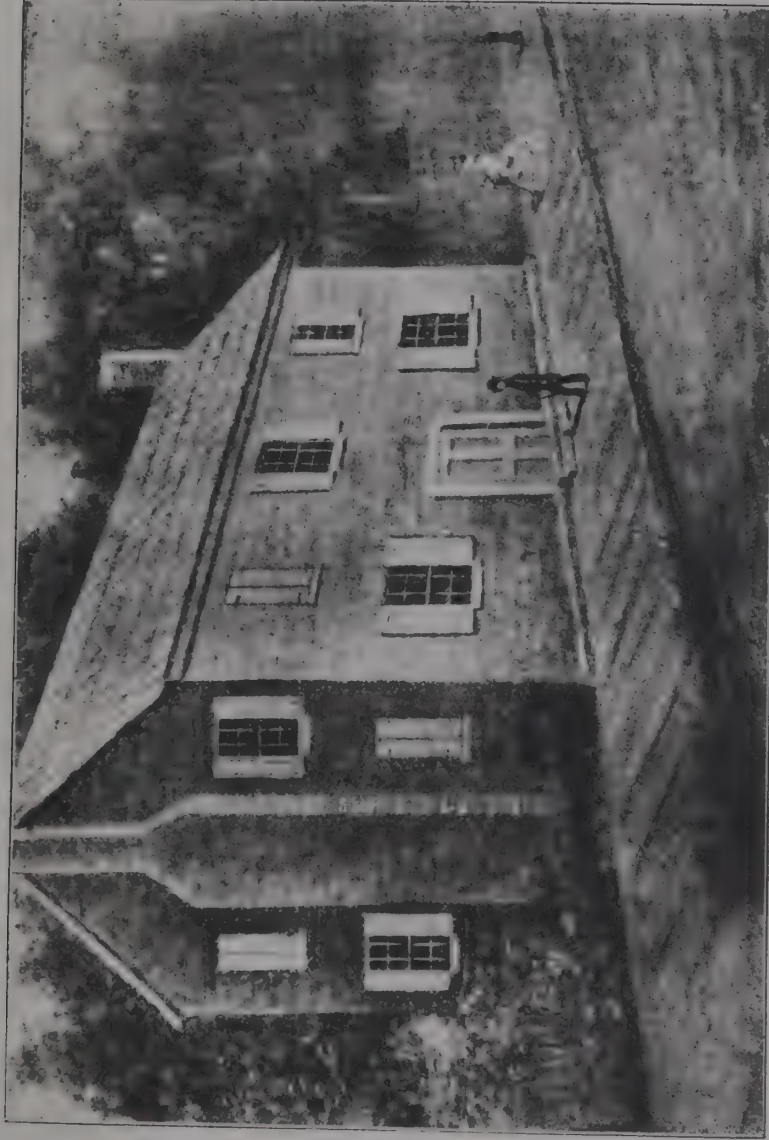
<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 1822, 407-408.

<sup>10</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi: at Their Sixth Session, Held in the Town of Jackson, 1822-1823 (Natchez, 1823), 14. The title and publisher vary in this series, which is hereinafter cited as House Journal with the year.

<sup>11</sup> Dunbar Rowland (ed.), Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1908 (Nashville, 1908), 193.







FIRST BUILDING IN JACKSON AND FIRST STATE CAPITOL, NORTHEAST CORNER OF CAPITOL  
AND PRESIDENT STREETS



patronized during sessions of the General Assembly.<sup>12</sup>

As early as 1833 an appropriation was made granting \$75,000 for the erection of a new state house and \$10,000 for an executive residence. The state architect was appointed to supervise the construction, for which he was to use only fire-proof materials of the "most lasting and durable character."<sup>13</sup> Actual work on the Capitol began in 1834 after Governor Hiram Runnels gave his personal note for \$10,000 when the banks would not discount the notes held on lots sold in Jackson.<sup>14</sup> The first architect, John Lawrence, was dismissed for incompetency, and his plan was rejected as inappropriate.<sup>15</sup> William Nichols was then appointed and instructed to tear down the first-story walls, which were "built of unsound and brittle materials."<sup>16</sup>

Nichols designed a building combining "in its arrangement, simplicity, beauty, and strength, with the most perfect harmony and convenience."<sup>17</sup> His plan for the Mississippi Capitol with

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<sup>12</sup> Judge T. J. Wharton, Daily Clarion-Ledger, December 19, 1895.

<sup>13</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1833, 468-473.

<sup>14</sup> Journal of the Senate of the State of Mississippi, at a Called Session Thereof, Held in the Town of Jackson, 1835 (Jackson, 1835), 3. Title and publisher vary for this series, which is hereinafter cited as Senate Journal with the date.

<sup>15</sup> House Journal, 1836, 252-253.

<sup>16</sup> Record of the Commissioners of Public Buildings, 1836-1840 (MS., in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi).

<sup>17</sup> House Journal, 1836, 253.



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its rounded arches, huge dome, and Corinthian columns resembled the Pantheon in Rome. This classic style of architecture was typical of other public buildings erected in the United States from 1820 to 1860. Thomas Tallmadge said that during the Greek Revival "the architects copied, wherever they could, either ensembles, portions or details of Greek temples, applying them<sup>18</sup> to every kind of American building."

In December, 1838, the editor of the Southern Sun wrote that the interior of the Capitol would "rival in splendor and utility any state house in the United States, whilst the exterior presents a beautiful outline of architectural symmetry." He explained that the contractors and workers had labored day and night to finish the building.<sup>19</sup> Similar praise was expressed by P. W. Farrar, chairman of the legislative committee on public buildings, who said that Nichols had been "chaste in his selections from the ancient models; in their application tasteful and congruous, and in design bold and comprehensive; and if architecture is expressive, this edifice is destined to become a record of the good taste and judgment of the times."<sup>20</sup> Farrar also commended Commissioner of Public Buildings, Charles

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<sup>18</sup> Thomas E. Tallmadge, The Story of Architecture in America (New York, 1927), 98.

<sup>19</sup> Southern Sun, December 15, 1838.

<sup>20</sup> Senate Journal, 1840, 838-840.







OLD STATE CAPITOL, 1839-1903  
Restored 1917



Lynch, for the appropriate selection of the furniture and fixtures<sup>21</sup> for the new building.

The General Assembly appointed commissioners to supervise all of the expenditures and to see that only the specified materials<sup>22</sup> were used. The records of this group show that careful attention was given to all phases of the construction work. The stone for the lower corridors, the porticoes, and the facings came from a quarry near Mississippi Springs, in Hinds County.<sup>23</sup> The best heart timber, "sawed from thrifty yellow pine" and cypress, was utilized in the building; most of the lumber was cut and hauled from Simpson County by ox-teams. The commissioners and architect tried to obtain the most expert workmanship; for example, David Haley and Robert McKee furnished the window sashes on the condition that all of them were<sup>24</sup> "securely doveled, wedged, and pinned."

Typical of the expenditures approved were the following: \$26,328 for stone materials, \$2,150 for carving the headpieces for all the columns, \$1,000 for flagging the rotunda, \$32 for

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<sup>21</sup> Senate Journal, 1840, 834.

<sup>22</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1836, 34-38.

<sup>23</sup> Ephraim W. Lowe, Mississippi: Its Geology, Geography, Soils, and Mineral Resources, Mississippi Geological Survey, Bulletin no. 12 (Jackson, 1915), 88.

<sup>24</sup> Record of the Commissioners of Public Buildings, 1836-1840.





cistern pump, \$133 for laying the hearths and fixing the stoves, \$1,500 for window curtains, etc., \$11,390 for carpenter work, \$500 for desks for the Representatives' Hall, and \$900 for chandeliers and small side lights.<sup>25</sup>

The new Capitol was occupied when the legislature convened on the first Monday in January, 1839; Governor McNutt said that although the Capitol was not completed, it afforded "accommodation to the Legislature, and the various public officers." He suggested a "rigid scrutiny into all the contracts and accounts" so as to prevent similar delays and unusually extravagant expenditures in the construction of other public buildings.<sup>26</sup> The Capitol was finished during 1840 at a total cost of approximately \$95,000; most of the work was done in 1839, when the sum of \$63,077 was spent.<sup>27</sup> The old State House was used for offices and as a meeting place for citizens of Jackson.

After the completion of the Capitol, William Nichols began erecting "a suitable house for the governor"; this was first authorized in 1833, although little progress had been made for the \$3,384.81 expended by February, 1840.<sup>28</sup> Governor A. G.

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<sup>25</sup> Record of the Commissioners of Public Buildings, 1836-1840.

<sup>26</sup> Senate Journal, 1839, 3, 19.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 1840, 834.

<sup>28</sup> Record of the Commissioners of Public Buildings, 1840-1845 (MS., in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi).





McNutt urged the legislature to appropriate additional funds for the erection of an executive residence, since the governor was required to live in Jackson. He explained that it was almost "impossible to rent a suitable house on any terms." <sup>29</sup> The legislature granted \$20,000 for that purpose, <sup>30</sup> and the actual construction of the building was soon started. The architect evidently followed instructions and purchased superior materials, because in 1909 W. S. Hull stated that from "the basement to the roof every beam, joist, plate, or rafter, is as the day it was put in." All the timber was "of red heart cypress, cut at a time when nothing but the best was used." <sup>31</sup>

Approximately \$60,000 was spent constructing, furnishing, and repairing the Governor's Mansion between 1833 and 1860. For example, \$3,500 was appropriated in 1850 for the purpose of making improvements and purchasing "carpets, curtains for the windows, tables, chairs, bedsteads, bureaus, and such other articles of fixed or heavy furniture, as may be necessary to furnish said Mansion." <sup>32</sup> In 1854 a total of \$8,500 was granted to construct "a substantial iron-railling fence, built upon a wall of brick

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<sup>29</sup> Senate Journal, 1840, 46.

<sup>30</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1840, 80.

<sup>31</sup> W. S. Hull, Governor's Mansion (Jackson, 1909), 6.

<sup>32</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1850, 113.



eapped with stone, with the necessary and proper iron gateways." Stone paving was to be placed for ten or fifteen feet around the building to protect the foundation. Also the entire structure was to be covered with a good slate roof and strengthened by iron anchors and bracing.<sup>33</sup> In 1842 Cornelius and Company of Philadelphia was paid \$1,385 for chandeliers, brackets, and spittoons.<sup>34</sup> Later Franklin lightning rods<sup>35</sup> and gas light fixtures<sup>36</sup> were installed for both the Governor's Mansion and the Capitol.

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The Mansion was probably completed and<sup>at</sup> least partially furnished during the latter part of 1841. The first occupant was Governor Tilghman Mayfield Tucker, who was inaugurated on January 10, 1842. Soon afterwards he invited prominent men in Jackson to attend "a very elaborate and elegant dinner" honoring Colonel Richard Johnson, former Vice-President of the United States and famous Indian fighter.<sup>37</sup> Governor Tucker's farewell levee "was graced by the largest and most brilliant assembly" of

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<sup>33</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1854, 213, 367.

<sup>34</sup>House Journal, 1842, 675.

<sup>35</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1844, 181.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 1857, 139.

<sup>37</sup>Robert Lowry and William McCardle, A History of Mississippi, from the Discovery of the Great River by Hernando De Soto, including the Earliest Settlement Made by the French, under Iberville, to the Death of Jefferson Davis (Jackson, 1891), 303.





his administration, and the rooms were crowded with five or six hundred guests. Some of the ladies wore gowns of claret-colored silk velvet trimmed "with blonde silver lace of the richest and most delicate fringe." Others had their hair "richly ornamented<sup>38</sup> and arranged with Parisian precision." The next evening the incoming Governor and Mrs. Albert Gallatin Brown entertained "the members of the Legislature, Judges of the Courts, strangers in town, and resident citizens generally" in a manner similar to the presidential levees held in Washington. The editor of the Mississippian said this social affair "was not an eating and drinking festival; with better taste it was the call of the constituency upon the Chief Magistrate."<sup>39</sup> A Natchez editor reported that few ladies attended the levee because of "the night being dark, rainy...and the streets of Jackson being almost impassable bayous of mud." However this did not seem to disturb the gentlemen, who gathered in a room "of the mansion where they could find the drop that cheered and the segars that rolled up clouds<sup>40</sup> of fragrance."

The Governor's Mansion was located in the middle of a square, two blocks west of the Capitol. It was described by a

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<sup>38</sup> Mississippian, January 9, 1844; Mississippi Free Trader, January 17, 1844.

<sup>39</sup> Mississippian, January 12, 1844.

<sup>40</sup> Mississippi Free Trader, January 17, 1844.





New Orleans reporter as "the handsomest abode to be seen in the Southern country" in 1859.<sup>41</sup> The first detailed description of the building was given by William Nichols as follows:

The mansion house for the residence of the Governor...will be 72 by 53 feet. The ground or basement story is eight feet high and is divided into servants' rooms, store room, and cellar.

On the principal floor the main entrance is from a portico 28 by 12 feet, into an octagon vestibule, which communicates with a drawing room 50 by 24 feet, with a dining room, which by means of folding doors, may be made of the same size, and with the great stair-case leading to the upper floor; in the rear of these will be a suite of comfortable family rooms; the upper floor will contain four spacious chambers, a wardrobe, and a private stair-case communicating with the basement story.

The portico on the principal front, will be supported by columns of the Corinthian order. In finishing the building, it is intended to avoid a profusion of ornament, and to adhere to a plain republican simplicity, as best comporting with the dignity of the State. 42

The commissioners of public buildings supervised not only the construction of the Capitol and the Governor's Mansion but also the erection of the state penitentiary. In 1836 Governor

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<sup>41</sup>J. D. B. De Bow (ed.), The Commercial Review of the South and West, 43 vols. (New Orleans, 1846-1880), XXVI (1859), 467. Title varies and the reference is hereinafter cited as De Bow's Review.

<sup>42</sup>Report of William Nichols, State Architect, to P. W. Farrar, Chairman, Joint Committee of the Mississippi Legislature on Public Buildings, February 12, 1840. Report of the Committee on Public Buildings (n.p., n.d.), 9.





THE ORIGINAL GOVERNOR'S MANSION, JACKSON (1842)





Charles Lynch, William Nichols, Perry Cohea, and George Finucane decided that "squares No. 6, 7, 14, and 15 North in the Town of Jackson containing each two acres were the most eligible and suitable lots."<sup>43</sup> The legislature instructed the men to study various plans and to erect the most approved type "of brick or stone, ...making it proof against fire and sufficiently large to contain at least two hundred convicts."<sup>44</sup> Evidently the commissioners wisely used the appropriation of \$75,000, as in 1859 a traveler remarked that the "edifice itself is a specimen of architectural skill, that rivals any institution of the kind in the South. Its apartments are well arranged."<sup>45</sup>

William Nichols reported to the legislature in 1840 that the penitentiary was almost completed with one hundred and fifty cells on three stories. The arrangement provided good ventilation and solitary confinement at night; one guard could watch all the prisoners in their cells. A workshop, forty feet wide, one hundred and fifty feet long, and twenty feet high, was built to employ the men during cold or rainy weather. A temporary plank fence enclosed the grounds until the convicts could manufacture enough brick to build a wall.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Record of the Commissioners of Public Buildings, 1836-1840.

<sup>44</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1836, 23.

<sup>45</sup> De Bow's Review, XXVI (1859), 467.

<sup>46</sup> House Journal, 1840, 920-921.





In 1852 a joint committee of the senators and representatives inspected the penitentiary and found conditions most satisfactory. The managers maintained a good system of order, and the convicts had clean bedding, plenty of wholesome rations, and suitable clothing.<sup>47</sup> Later improvements included an iron door at the main entrance, the extension of the roof over the walls to prevent prisoners from escaping, one hundred and fifty-four additional cells, and a hospital.<sup>48</sup> By 1858 there were fifty-three foreigners, eighty-three Southerners, and twenty-seven Northerners in the penitentiary at Jackson.<sup>49</sup> The managers tried various experiments before erecting cotton and woolen factories, iron foundry, blacksmith shop, tannery, shoeshop, brickyard, carpenter shop, and other kinds of establishments. The "neat, well-furnished, well-ventilated work-shops had a good moral effect upon the minds and bodies distempered by crime,"<sup>50</sup> and proved an asset to the state treasury. For example, in 1859 the total value of the goods manufactured by the convicts amounted to \$23,285.88.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> House Journal, 1852, 373.

<sup>48</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1844, 370; 1852, 42; 1858, 132.

<sup>49</sup> House Journal, 1859, Appendix, 2.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 1844, 684.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 16.



This prosperous condition existed throughout the state as well as at the penitentiary; consequently the legislature felt justified in establishing eleemosynary institutions. These were located at Jackson probably because of its accessibility to all sections of the state. For two years the Rev. James Champlin traveled over Mississippi soliciting funds and getting petitions sent to the legislators for the purpose of securing financial aid for the blind. A school was created in Jackson in 1848, and free instruction was given any blind person who certified that he was of "good moral character."<sup>52</sup> The county assessors were expected to furnish the names and addresses of all eligible individuals, and the boards of police were instructed to supply the necessary funds for transportation and clothing.<sup>53</sup>

The Blind Institute opened on April 3, 1848, with two boys under the Rev. James Champlin; the limited equipment necessitated oral instruction in the most elementary subjects.<sup>54</sup> Later the usual advanced courses were offered the students; at different times classes were taught vocal and instrumental music, mechanics, plain and fancy needlework, weaving of baskets and mats, and the making of mattresses and brooms. The manufacturing attempts were

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<sup>52</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1848, 153-155.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 1856, 344.

<sup>54</sup> House Journal, 1850, 133, 135.





not successful, as the pupils lacked the necessary ability and the proper disposal of the goods.<sup>55</sup> The trustees purchased additional lots for new buildings, gardens, and playgrounds.<sup>56</sup> Annual appropriations were made by the legislature to maintain the blind students, who numbered twenty-six in 1859.<sup>57</sup>

In 1854 the legislature provided similar educational advantages for the deaf and dumb people in Mississippi. For a while the two schools were supervised by the trustees of the Blind Institute, but a separate board was created for each in 1857.<sup>58</sup> The men were instructed to erect buildings "in a plain, neat, and substantial manner, with a view to comfort and convenience, instead of show."<sup>59</sup> These institutions divided the \$14,000 fund, which had accumulated to the state's credit from public lands sold by the United States.<sup>60</sup> The trustees purchased two acres and the buildings known as the Cleaver Female Institute property, across the street from the Governor's Mansion.<sup>61</sup> The

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<sup>55</sup> House Journal, 1854, 452; 1857, 135-137; 1859, 352-360.

<sup>56</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1850, 119; 1854, 135.

<sup>57</sup> House Journal, 1859, 358.

<sup>58</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1857, 114.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 1854, 95-97; 114-116.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 96; United States, Statutes at Large, V, 453.

<sup>61</sup> House Journal, 1856, 247.





school opened in August, 1854, with ten students taught by John H. Calzay, a deaf mute and a graduate of New York Institute.<sup>62</sup>

In 1857 the trustees reported that the school showed every evidence of "Improvement, progress, order and cheerfulness" among the students and faculty.<sup>63</sup>

The recently acquired property and \$2,500 were exchanged for the buildings and grounds owned by the St. Andrew's College in 1856. This was located about one mile west of the city limits and contained "pleasant and airy" buildings for seventy or eighty pupils, between seventy and eighty acres of land for gardens, fuel, and pastures, and "a neat substantial plank fence" around the twelve or fifteen-acre yard.<sup>64</sup> Provisions were made to teach carpentry, mechanics, and millinery in addition to the regular classroom courses.<sup>65</sup> After 1857 the facilities of the Deaf and Dumb Institute were "free to all Deaf and Dumb pupils resident of this State of good moral character";<sup>66</sup> the following year the students were also provided transportation to and from their homes.<sup>67</sup>

Another eleemosynary institution near Jackson cared for the

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<sup>62</sup> House Journal, 1856, 247.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 1856-1857, 129.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 1857, Appendix, 156; 1856, 25.

<sup>65</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1860, 532.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 1857, 41.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 1858, 230.



mentally deficient and insane. At first the legislature granted the asylum a five-acre square number six, north, in the city limits of Jackson, but this was sold and the proceeds were used to purchase one hundred and forty acres about one mile north of the town.<sup>68</sup> In 1850 Dorothea Dix wrote that she had persuaded the Mississippi legislature "to give \$50,000 and 3,000,000 bricks<sup>69</sup> besides the farm and foundations of the structure." The first commissioners bought the land, excavated, and started the foundations before the original appropriation was expended.<sup>70</sup> For some reason the penitentiary did not furnish the promised bricks. Grants totaling about \$110,000 were utilized in completing and furnishing the institution,<sup>71</sup> which received the first patients on January 8, 1856.<sup>72</sup>

The legislature ordered that the buildings should be constructed in "a style comporting with economy, comfort, and durability, rejecting every suggestion...for elegance or show."<sup>73</sup> The three-story main section and the two-story wings were built

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<sup>68</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1848, 177-179; House Journal, 1850, 99.

<sup>69</sup>Helen E. Marshall, Dorothea Dix, Forgotten Samaritan (Chapel Hill, 1937), 121.

<sup>70</sup>House Journal, 1850, 108-109.

<sup>71</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1848, 177-179; 1850, 118; 1852, 277; 1854, 196-197.

<sup>72</sup>Dunbar Rowland (ed.), Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1908, 325.

<sup>73</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1850, 118.





of "solid brick and stone masonry" large enough to accommodate two hundred patients and the necessary attendants.<sup>74</sup> In 1859 Dorothea Dix visited the asylum and commended the staff for the medical treatment of the inmates, which numbered sixty-eight men and forty-two women. She suggested that additional rooms were needed for the private patients and the men.<sup>75</sup> The superintendent attempted to beautify the grounds by planting flower seeds and ornamental shrubs donated by Mrs. P. Farrar and Martin W. Philips. The children of Bishop William Mercer Green contributed a collection of books for the entertainment of the patients.<sup>76</sup>

The governmental activities of the state capital greatly overshadowed the business interests of the town of Jackson during most of the ante-bellum period. The state financed the construction and maintenance of the Capitol, Governor's Mansion, Blind Institute, Deaf and Dumb Institute, penitentiary, and asylum; these added to the population, and the buildings improved the appearance of Jackson. Many visitors attended the sessions of the legislature and courts and transacted matters pertaining to the state government. The small, insignificant Indian trading post became an important town primarily because it was selected as the capital of Mississippi.

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<sup>74</sup> House Journal, 1852, 583.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 1859, Appendix, 361-362.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 73.





### CHAPTER III

#### AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES

After Lefleur's Bluff was selected as the capital of Mississippi, an increasing number of pioneers followed the Indian trails on foot and on horseback to settle in the newly acquired territory. These ingenious people soon converted the wilderness into a civilized community. There were various degrees of wealth among the early inhabitants, but few of them owned any slaves. Usually several families came together for companionship and for protection from attacks by the Indians and wild animals. The difficulties of travel necessitated a very limited amount of baggage consisting of food, clothing, guns, spinning equipment, cooking utensils, and the most prized pieces of furniture.

One-room houses were hurriedly constructed of logs with mud daubed into the cracks, and the clapboard roofs were held down by "weight poles." These living conditions were improved



as the family and income increased. Huge open fireplaces provided the means for heating and lighting as well as for cooking. The windows and doors were made quite small and were closed by wooden shutters hung upon pegs, because nails and iron hinges were hardly obtainable in that remote section. The scarcity of sawmills meant that few cabins could afford the luxury of plank floors. Substantial rail fences enclosed the fields, gardens, yards, and pens for the livestock.

Since little furniture was brought from their former homes, the settlers cleverly devised log tables, chairs, and stools. Planks were placed upon pegs stuck into the walls so as to make satisfactory shelves. Cradles were improvised from clapboards, hollow logs, and the tops of leather trunks. Beds were made by extending two substantial poles from holes in the wall to an upright post a few feet from the corner of the room; then a platform was constructed by using planks, poles or ropes; afterwards there was added a mattress of corn shucks or hay. Many families used feather beds on top of the mattresses.

The women made all the soap, candles, clothing, and such articles for the family; the men and boys hunted squirrels, turkeys, deer, rabbits, birds, and quail for the meat supply. Wild fruits added variety to the monotonous diet. An ample water supply was obtained from Pearl River, springs, and the many creeks throughout the county. Social affairs during this early period consisted of logrollings, house-raisings, quiltings, and





corn-shuckings; these were accompanied by much eating, joking, story-telling, bragging, dancing, and drinking.

Joseph Holt Ingraham traveled through central Mississippi in the early 1830's and wrote that the majority of the inhabitants were of the small farmer class.<sup>1</sup> He described them as being uneducated, awkward, sullen, "destitute of the regular administration of the gospel," and possessing "a decided aversion to a broad-cloth coat, and this antipathy is transferred to the wearer." They were expert hunters, superior riflemen, and consumers of large quantities of strong whiskey. There were no schools; therefore the children grew up as illiterate and uncouth as their parents.<sup>2</sup>

This Northerner did not find all the people of an undesirable class; in the village of Clinton he was impressed by the many lawyers and doctors who had recently come from the East. He remarked that one of the fashionable assemblies in that town compared favorably with any he had attended in the Southwest. He visited with two men, who were sons "of one of the most eminent and estimable medical gentlemen of New England." These young men owned and operated a cotton plantation between Clinton and Jackson. Ingraham commented that he met many individuals, who,

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of social classes in Hinds County see p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph Holt Ingraham, The South-West by a Yankee, 2 vols. (New York, 1835), II, 171-172.





"with the characteristic energy and perseverance of northerners,"<sup>3</sup>  
 were "steadily advancing to wealth and distinction."

Some years later Frederick Law Olmsted journeyed through the same section and observed that resident planters owned most of the interior plantations, which averaged about six hundred acres. The number of slaves varied greatly, but usually there was an overseer when one person had more than twenty Negroes. In this group were the more prosperous planters, described as possessing "more dignity of bearing and manner." They gave "a stranger an impression of greater 'respectability' than the middle class of farmers at the North and in England, while they have less information and less active and inquiring minds." Practically all of these had attended boarding schools or academies, but they had gained little from newspapers, books, or conversation outside the classroom. He said whiskey was seldom served him; he disliked the Southern "hotbreads," the fried foods, and "the abominable preparation which passed for coffee."<sup>4</sup>

After the signing of the Treaty of Doak's Stand, Congress opened a land office to dispose of the Choctaw territory. Gideon Fitz served as registrar from May 10, 1822, until about

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid... II, 168-169, 173.

<sup>4</sup>Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey in the Back Country (New York, 1860), 160-161.



June, 1831; during this time the land office was located at both Clinton and Jackson. Charles Lawson was probably the first person to enter a preemption claim for land near Clinton; his claim was dated March 19 and 31, 1823. In March, 1833, hundreds of men and women crowded around Clinton and impatiently awaited the granting of land. Shrewd speculators secured much of the most desirable tracts and outwitted many honest, unsuspecting persons. Before the excitement subsided there were many angry words, hard feelings, and fights with fists and guns.<sup>5</sup>

Probably the first owners improved the land for the purpose of making profitable sales to the wealthy planters, who came from Virginia and the Carolinas after the region became more civilized. The newspapers in 1835 contained an unusually large number of advertisements offering to sell plantations. Practically all of them stated that only a part of the land was cleared for cultivation; many mentioned the healthful location, abundant water supply, and the valuable timber. James Smith offered to sell 1,200 acres, which had "a beautiful building site, commanding the most extensive view of the surrounding country of any spot perhaps in Hinds county."<sup>6</sup> Jesse Andrews wanted to dispose of 700 acres of "excellent quality" land in a

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<sup>5</sup> "The Town of Clinton: Its Rise and Progress--and a Brief Sketch of the Notables That Made Its History by X and Y, Two of Its Oldest Citizens," in Hinds County Gazette, April 14, 1875.

<sup>6</sup> Mississippian, October 16, 1835.





"pleasant and healthy situation, with fine well water," a growing cotton and corn crop, slaves, and farming tools.<sup>7</sup> E. W.

Haring's plantation near Big Black contained a new mill, Negro cabins, a blacksmith's shop, an overseer's house, a horse-operated sawmill, livestock, farming equipment, and forty-three slaves.<sup>8</sup>

In later years the plantations had more buildings, but evidently there was not a great demand for land, as Virginia Sims unsuccessfully advertised her property for more than a year in the Hinds County Gazette. This well-improved tract of 720 acres adjoined Cooper's Well and contained a large eight-room house with a double gallery across both the front and the back. Other improvements included a two-story, four-room frame kitchen, a dairy, cemented cellar, storehouse, smokehouse, barn, frame stable, servants' cabins, and "indeed every convenience, together with a mineral well of never failing water."<sup>9</sup>

The climate and soil of Hinds County are well adapted to agriculture. The average growing season is eight months because of the long hot summers and the usually mild winters. Generally the rainfall is well distributed throughout the year, but frequently the heavy spring rains result in causing soil

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<sup>7</sup> Mississippian, October 16, 1835.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., November 20, 1835.

<sup>9</sup> Hinds County Gazette, April 17, 1851, to April 8, 1852.





erosion and crop damage. About two-thirds of the county is drained by Baker's Creek and its tributaries, while the southern portion is drained by the White Oak and Tallahalla Creeks. The topography varies from fertile, level land to steep, eroded hills; the geologists for the United States Department of Agriculture listed sixteen different types of soil derived from the loessial deposits. The land produces good crops of corn, cotton, vegetables, and fruits. Some portions are not cultivated because of poor drainage, steep ridges, gullies, or forested areas containing pine, sycamore, beech, hickory, elm, oak, and cypress. The county has small deposits of limestone, marl, sand-stone, shells, wood coal, oxide, and sulphate of lime.<sup>10</sup>

Although cotton and foodstuffs were the principal crops grown by the farmers before 1860, some men tried other products. Colonel T. L. Sumrall and R. E. Stratton not only grew a fine quality of tobacco but also made it into cigars, which compared favorably with those imported from Havana.<sup>11</sup> In 1843 a Mr. Cargill claimed to be the only person in the state growing a

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<sup>10</sup> A. B. Hurt (Special Agent), Mississippi: Its Climate, Soil, Productions, and Agricultural Capabilities, Miscellaneous, Special Report No. 3 (Washington, 1884); A. E. Kocher and A. L. Goodman, Soil Survey of Hinds County, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils (Washington, 1918); Ephraim W. Lowe, Mississippi: Its Geology, Geography, Soils and Mineral Resources; Wallis Papers (MSB, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi), ser. W, no. 30.

<sup>11</sup> Mississippian, September 6, 1844.

about the year 1840. About two-thirds of the country is

covered by water, the rest is land, which is the country

between the water and the hills. The hills are covered by the water

and the water is the same as the water in the hills.

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superior quality of cantaloupes. <sup>12</sup> Dr. Martin W. Phillips, W. W. Lucas, Francis Williams, and others unsuccessfully attempted to cultivate the *morus multicanlus* or Chinese mulberry for feeding silkworms. One year G. M. Allen produced fifty skeins of silk, <sup>13</sup> but the experiment was soon abandoned.

In 1839 the planters and citizens near Clinton and Raymond organized the Agricultural Society of Hinds County for the promotion of diversified farming, scientific methods, better <sup>14</sup> livestock, horticulture, and improved implements. At the first stock show held in Raymond in 1841, Colonel S. Tarpley displayed imported sheep, cattle, and hogs; one sow cost \$250 and a calf, \$1,500. Major John B. Peyton exhibited several fine Durham cattle and Berkshire pigs. Dr. Martin W. Phillips showed <sup>15</sup> blooded livestock, which he had purchased in the Eastern states.

This agricultural organization held its first annual fair at Raymond in the fall of 1858. Prizes were given for cotton, corn, field peas, sweet potatoes, cattle, horses, mules, sheep, swine, household articles, and manufactured goods of leather, <sup>16</sup> cotton, and wool. The following year it was estimated that

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<sup>12</sup> Southron, August 9, 1843.

<sup>13</sup> Mississippian, March 29, 1839; Raymond Gazette, July 2, 9, 1841.

<sup>14</sup> Raymond Times, June 7, 28, December 27, 1839; Southern Sun, June 25, 1839.

<sup>15</sup> Mississippian, December 30, 1841.

<sup>16</sup> Hinds County Gazette, October 13, 1858.





from five hundred to a thousand persons attended each day of the fair, although admission fees were charged. The leaders regarded the fine exhibits and the large attendance as indicating the interest of the citizens in agricultural improvement.<sup>17</sup>

The Hinds County society joined the Mississippi State Agricultural Society, which was organized in Jackson on January 1, 1840.<sup>18</sup> In April, 1842, the first state-wide agricultural fair was held in Jackson; the celebration, dinner, and program were conducted according to "Temperance principles."<sup>19</sup> On another occasion the products were placed in the rotunda and halls of the Capitol; B. L. C. Wailles "considered the exhibits very meagre, except for the display of agricultural implements, but the sightseers were numerous and 'seemed satisfied.'" That night Wailles presided and "exhibited to the meeting a large ornamented Silver pitcher presented to Mr Robinson for the most liberal and efficient exhibitor at the Fair."<sup>20</sup> In 1858 Wailles estimated that "3000 persons were present one third at least ladies arrayed in all the expansive glory of crinoline and bright

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<sup>17</sup>Hinds County Gazette, November 16, 1859.

<sup>18</sup>Charles S. Sydnor, A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailles (Durham, 1938), 165, quoting the Southern Planter, vol. 1, no. 2, 7-9. Hereinafter this reference is cited as Wailles.

<sup>19</sup>Southron, April 13, 1842.

<sup>20</sup>Sydnor, Wailles, 167-168, citing Wailles' Diary, November 5, 6, 1857.





colors." Some of the performances were held in the lot back of the Capitol, where rows of seats were "arranged like an amphitheater...with the two-story pagoda-like judges' stand at the center."<sup>21</sup>

At many of the fairs Dr. Martin W. Philips demonstrated agricultural implements and labor-saving devices. In 1841 he showed a straw cutter, a spinning machine, and a mill for grinding corn on the cob.<sup>22</sup> In 1844 he explained the good and bad points of various plows, hoes, forks, cultivators, and ox poles.<sup>23</sup> Later he urged all progressive farmers to purchase a plow dynamometer, which was manufactured in the Philips and Kell factory at Jackson.<sup>24</sup> Solon Robinson was most favorably impressed with Philips' interest in agricultural improvement and wrote several large firms to send samples of their farm equipment for him to try on his plantation.<sup>25</sup>

These agricultural activities encouraged S. T. King and

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<sup>21</sup>Sydner, Wailes, 169, citing Wailes' Diary, November 7-12, 1858; November 16, 17, 1859.

<sup>22</sup>Mississippiian, December 30, 1841.

<sup>23</sup>South-Western Farmer, November 22, 1844.

<sup>24</sup>Hinds County Gazette, November 28, 1860.

<sup>25</sup>Herbert A. Kellar (ed.), Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist, 1825-1851, 2 vols. (Indiana Historical Collections, vols. XXI, XXII, Indianapolis, 1936), I, 476.



N. Greene North to publish the Mississippi Farmer, which first appeared in November, 1839. This semi-monthly publication of four large quarto pages contained helpful information for the farmers and guided "them in the pursuits of useful and laudable objects instead of the glittering bubbles" they had followed during the period of speculation.<sup>26</sup> The first three issues included titles such as: curing hams and bacon, feeding hogs, cultivating millet, scientific farming methods, silk culture, the treatment of peach trees, blooded livestock in Hinds County, the preservation of sweet potatoes, and alfalfa. Also there were editorials on various phases of agriculture and letters from subscribers.<sup>27</sup> The lack of financial support caused North to discontinue his journal sometime in 1841.

On March 11, 1842, North converted the Raymond Times into the South-Western Farmer, and at first John Jenkins served as associate editor.<sup>28</sup> This publication dealt with the agricultural problems and crops of the Southwest; the editor hoped to arouse the cotton planters so that they would try scientific methods and diversification of crops.<sup>29</sup> For three years this journal

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<sup>26</sup> Raymond Times, December 6, 1839.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., January 3, 1840.

<sup>28</sup> Southron, March 17, 1842.

<sup>29</sup> Raymond Times, February 25, 1842, "Prospectus of the South-Western Farmer."





barely existed and "neither delighted the multitude with its vigorous growth, nor cheered the owner with its profitable fruits." North was forced to abandon this second agricultural publication because there was not enough financial assistance. In the issue for November 22, 1844, North and Philips offered prizes for essays dealing with agricultural topics. The associate editor, Martin W. Philips, discussed different breeds of live-<sup>30</sup> stock and farming tools.

Solon Robinson wrote that the South-Western Farmer was "a most excellent agricultural paper" with almost four hundred subscribers, and that it was "the only paper devoted to agriculture" in the states of Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, or<sup>31</sup> Mississippi. The editor of the Southern Cultivator also referred to North's paper as an "excellent Journal,"<sup>32</sup> but the farmers failed to pay for it. The editor of the Southern Reformer and Martin W. Philips promised to publish the Mississippi Cultivator, if one thousand persons paid in advance for their<sup>33</sup> subscriptions. Later John J. Williams published the Mississippi Planter and Mechanic at Jackson for a short time; he was assisted

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<sup>30</sup> South-Western Farmer, November 22, 1844.

<sup>31</sup> Keller (ed.), Solon Robinson, I, 474, 479.

<sup>32</sup> Southern Cultivator (Augusta, Atlanta, Athens, Ga., 1843-1886), II (1844), 69.

<sup>33</sup> Southern Reformer, September 20, 1845.





by Martin W. Philips, Dr. H. A. Swasey of the Swasey Nurseries<sup>34</sup> at Yazoo City, and Lewis Harper.

The most prominent Mississippian advocating agricultural improvement was Dr. Martin W. Philips of Log Hall near Edwards' Depot. He was born in Columbia, South Carolina, educated in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, and moved to Mississippi in the early 1830's. He and his father-in-law, William Montgomery, purchased adjoining plantations in Hinds County. In later years his home became widely known and was<sup>35</sup> visited by many who were interested in agriculture.

Log Hall was originally a four-room log house with a stack chimney in the center for the four fireplaces. One room contained his library of Greek, Latin, and English classics, books on politics, science, and history, a complete set of John Audubon's Birds of America, and the "carefully preserved files of agricultural papers and reports." Other buildings included the kitchen for the Philips family, a "cook-house" for the Negroes, house for the overseer, cabins for the slaves, barn, gin, store-

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<sup>34</sup>Sydner, Wailes, 166-167.

<sup>35</sup>Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (Boston, 1929), 286; Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), Dictionary of American Biography, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1937), XIV (1934), 537; Franklin L. Riley (ed.), "Diary of a Mississippi Planter, 1840-1863," in the Mississippi Historical Society, Publications, X (1909), 305.



rooms, sheds, and "Bachelors' Quarters" for visitors.<sup>36</sup>

This plantation home was recognized as one of the most interesting in Mississippi during the ante-bellum period; the groves, lawns, gardens, and orchards included about seventy or eighty acres. Wild peach and boxwood hedges extended for fifty yards from the house to the garden, which was surrounded on three sides by a pericenthus hedge. Throughout the entire plantation many Osage orange hedges and Cherokee rose bushes served as fences, which provided protection and beauty. From the house to the main entrance was a three-hundred-yard double driveway bordered with wild peach hedges and pecan trees. The more formal flower garden had all available kinds of flowers, shrubs, and ornamental plants, while the lawn had many magnificent trees, native and imported vines, and shrubs. Philips recorded the common and botanical names for most of the plants; he listed such flowers as chrysanthemum, hollyhock, phlox, verbena, aster, morning glory, mignonette, canterbury bells, pansy, columbine, peony, hyacinth, jonquil, zinnia, coxcomb, hibiscus, spirea, petunia, roses, dahlias, and clematis.<sup>37</sup>

Philips was really much more interested in fruits than in flowers. As early as 1842 he budded several varieties of peaches, apricots, and nectarines. He grew all kinds to be sure

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<sup>36</sup> Riley (ed.), "Diary of a Mississippi Planter," in loc. cit., 305-307.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 306-307, 404, 423, 467, 386.





that some would produce an adequate supply. For numerous agricultural journals and papers he wrote articles telling the best way of treating the different fruits.<sup>38</sup> Once he discussed the profitable market in New Orleans for fruits shipped from Vicksburg. By many people he was recognized as an authority on fruit trees and orchards. In 1858 he was named a Vice-President<sup>39</sup> of the American Pomological Society.

Solon Robinson said that he had "never seen a more thrifty-looking orchard than the doctor's, which contained forty acres"<sup>40</sup> in 1845. Two years later Philips advertised that he wanted to sell a few thousand surplus fruit trees so as to gain money to continue his experiments. He offered both domestic and foreign varieties including two hundred kinds of peaches, one hundred pears, seventy apples, twenty plums, cherries, figs, apricots, quinces, and nectarines. He promised to publish regular bulletins on the treatment of the trees and the progress of his own orchard. All of this information was to be the property of his country, and he asked nothing more than "the credit due one who labors in a pleasant cause for his people."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Southern Cultivator, II (1844), 69-70; X (1852), 371; XIII (1855), 225; XIV (1856), 287-288; XVI (1858), 155.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., XVI (1858), 62.

<sup>40</sup> Kellar (ed.), Solon Robinson, II, 129-130.

<sup>41</sup> Southern Cultivator, V (1847), 176.





Philips was not a typical Hinds County planter nor did he represent a typical farmer of Mississippi, but a study of the crops he planted will give some idea of the agricultural conditions in the ante-bellum period. In 1841 he had seventy-three acres of corn, fifty-five acres of oats, ninety-five acres of cotton, five acres of millet, four acres of potatoes, and thirteen acres of hay. Overflows, a storm in July, and hot weather resulted in his gathering only forty-seven bales of cotton, about half the anticipated corn crop, and no millet or potatoes.<sup>42</sup> In 1850 he planted one hundred and ten acres of corn, one hundred and thirty-five acres of cotton, ten acres of wheat, two acres of peanuts, and other crops in smaller quantities.<sup>43</sup> The plantation crops for 1858 included three hundred and seventy-five acres of cotton, one hundred and forty-six acres of corn, ten acres of potatoes, sixty-five acres of wheat, oats, and other grains, ten acres of sugar cane, and twelve acres of peas for feeding the hogs.<sup>44</sup>

Probably no other plantation in the state had as wide an assortment of crops in addition to the staple products. Philips corresponded with agriculturists in all parts of the nation, and

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<sup>42</sup>Riley (ed.), "Diary of a Mississippi Planter," in loc. cit., 339, 362.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 431.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 460.



they often sent him new kinds of seeds. Once he received nectarine squash seeds from a man in Honolulu. The following products were listed in his diary: gourds, popcorn, peanuts, sugar cane, muskmelons, watermelons, several kinds of tobacco, strawberries, raspberries, and *Morus multicaulis*. The vegetables included such things as squash, onions, sweet and Irish potatoes, string beans, pumpkins, turnips, cabbage, leek, okra, asparagus, celery, beets, rhubarb, artichokes, lettuce, tomatoes, parsnip, radishes, egg plant, pepper, butterbeans, and cucumbers.<sup>45</sup>

As was the case with other Southern planters, Philips had trouble securing and retaining competent overseers for his plantation. Many were employed at Log Hall, but the most frequent changes were during the latter part of the 1850's. Two examples illustrate the irresponsible, transient type of men. Champion came to Log Hall in 1855 for five hundred dollars in cash, three dollars additional for each bale of cotton over two hundred and forty bales, and a part of the cotton crop for his servant. In less than a month he was fired by Philips' son-in-law for being drunk, spending too much time hunting, and making no attempt to control the Negroes. He was reinstated after promising not to drink on the plantation, obey instructions, and join "a temperance society, if one be in Raymond." Within a few weeks Champion

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., passim.



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was gone and vowed he would later get vengeance against

<sup>46</sup> Philips. Overseer Simms became enraged because Mrs. Philips sent slaves to stay at the overseer's house until a permanent place was found for them. He expressed his feelings and "left without ceremony, and, to say the least, with impertinence and insolence."<sup>47</sup>

Philips spent so much time writing articles for various agricultural journals and newspapers that he did not attain such financial success. However it was said that he was always ready to aid any movement sponsored by the Baptist church, Masons, or Democrats. He traveled throughout the southwestern part of the state attending all meetings of the above organizations and agricultural fairs. In 1840 part of his land was sold to Anselom Lynch, and a few months later the remainder of the plantation, livestock, slaves, and equipment were bought by his brother-in-law, A. K. Montgomery.<sup>48</sup> Mrs. Philips received land, slaves, and livestock valued at \$10,000 from her father between 1829 and 1860.<sup>49</sup> In the census report for 1850 Philips was listed as owning real estate worth \$10,000;<sup>50</sup> four years later

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 453, 456.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 466.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 332.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 465-466.

<sup>50</sup> Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Hinds County, 1850 (MS., in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi).





he wrote that he had 1,168 acres, 66 Negroes, 20 work horses<sup>51</sup> and mules, and 5 yoke of oxen. The personal tax rolls for the same year showed that Philips paid only \$40 in taxes, but Mrs. Philips was assessed for a carriage worth \$200, two watches<sup>52</sup> valued at \$200, and thirty-three slaves. The difference in the number of slaves might be explained by stating that usually the state counted as taxable property only slaves between the ages of five and sixty years.

There was a great difference of opinion concerning the real importance of Martin W. Philips. In 1845 Solon Robinson wrote that he did "more than any other individual in the south towards 'the improvement of the soil and mind,'" and that Philips was constantly striving "to elevate the character and standing of the cultivators of the American soil."<sup>53</sup> Many years later L. C. Gray said that next to Edmund Ruffin, Martin W. Philips was probably the most influential agricultural leader<sup>54</sup> in the South.

Some people were not so complimentary of Dr. Philips, who

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<sup>51</sup> F. L. Olmsted, A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States With Remarks on Their Economy (New York, 1856), 699, quoting a letter from M. W. Philips in the New York Tribune.

<sup>52</sup> Real and Personal Tax Rolls of Hinds County, 1854 (MSS., in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi. Hereinafter this series is cited as Tax Rolls of Hinds County.

<sup>53</sup> Kellar (ed.), Solon Robinson, I, 474-475.

<sup>54</sup> Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933), I, 781.



admitted that he was "not orthodox" but that his object was "to ferret out the best plan, not caring whether science or tom-foolery gives the principle."<sup>55</sup>

Benjamin Wailes remarked that the State Agricultural Society had been reorganized, but "As Doct Phillips has a finger in it again I anticipate that the whole thing will as formerly end in gass."<sup>56</sup>

Ulrich Bonnell Phillips described the planter of Log Hall as being "energetic and irascible, impatient of genteel inhibitions, loquacious of tongue and pen, eager to test innovations, and greedy for fame as a promoter of betterments."<sup>57</sup>

During the ante-bellum days there were all kinds of people in Hinds County; however the increase in the number of slaves and in the amount of taxes would indicate that the small farmers somewhat disappeared. Agriculture was always the main occupation of the county, and most of the professional men were also farmers. The United States Census for 1840 gave 7,231 persons engaged in agriculture in Hinds County, 300 employed in manufacturing and trading, and 120 working in the "learned professions."<sup>58</sup> Ten years later the census showed that fifty-five

<sup>55</sup> American Agriculturist (New York, 1842- ), VI (1847), 317.

<sup>56</sup> Sydnor, Wailes, 166, quoting Wailes' Diary, February 14, 1857.

<sup>57</sup> Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South, 286.

<sup>58</sup> Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States as Obtained at the Department of State, from the Returns of the Sixth Census, by Counties and Principal Towns Exhibiting the Population, Wealth, and Resources of the Country (Washington, 1841), 59. Hereinafter this reference is cited as Sixth Census of United States, 1840.





men in Hinds County owned real estate worth from \$10,000 to \$50,000. This group included forty-five planters, two merchants, four lawyers, one druggist, one tailor, one doctor, and one surveyor.<sup>59</sup>

Thomas Smith Gregory Dabney was one of the county's most prosperous planters during the ante-bellum period, and in all respects he was the typical legendary Southern gentleman. He was born in Virginia,<sup>was</sup> educated at William and Mary, and farmed successfully in his home state before coming to Mississippi.<sup>60</sup> In the fall of 1835 Dabney, with his family, relatives, and slaves, made the long two-months' journey to their new home, which was located about ten miles south of Raymond.

This plantation, Burleigh, included four thousand acres and contained several different types of soil. It was well watered and properly drained by Tallahalla Creek and its tributaries; the fertile lowlands "ensured heavy crops in the driest seasons." Annually Dabney cleared an additional one hundred acres of land, because he could produce one and a half bales of cotton on each acre of "new ground." One year he established

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<sup>59</sup> Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Hinds County, 1850.

<sup>60</sup> Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South, 284; Johnson and Malone (eds.), Dictionary of American Biography, V (1930), 21-22; Susan Dabney Smedes, A Southern Planter (7th ed., New York, 1899), 17, 47.





the record of making six hundred bales of cotton on as many acres. The uncultivated areas were covered with good timber, vines, and undergrowth. Springs guaranteed an abundant supply of water at all times.<sup>61</sup>

Before the railroads were constructed through the county, Dabney shipped his cotton from Grand Gulf, forty miles to the southwest. He always accompanied his teamsters as they traveled to market over the almost impassable roads. These trips were made during the winters, and each driver was clothed "with a thick woollen great-coat that reached to his heels, home knit woollen socks and gloves, and an enormous comforter for the neck." The party camped at night and ate a substantial hot breakfast before starting the journey each morning.<sup>62</sup>

Dabney was always ready to help any person less fortunate than himself, but his neighbors neither understood nor appreciated his interest and generosity. Once he attended a house-raising and had his own slaves erect the entire building. Another time he sat on his horse while the slaves weeded and cultivated the neighbor's fields. The small farmers resented this seemingly superior attitude; they would have preferred to do more work themselves and to have Dabney join them instead

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<sup>61</sup> Smedes, Southern Planter, 63-64.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 65, 73.



of using his slaves. Many people disliked the fine clothes and white gloves which Dabney wore as he rode about the country. <sup>63</sup>

The Negroes at the plantation were well treated, well fed, and comfortably clothed; besides they were given money for extra work. Some of the slaves sold such things as popcorn, molasses, chickens, brooms, peanuts, baskets, and cakes at Raymond or Cooper's Well. Mr. and Mrs. Dabney taught their slaves "truthfulness and honesty, as they did their own children, by not tempting them, and by trusting them." At times there were two hundred Negroes at Burleigh, and Dabney supervised at least three hundred more on other plantations belonging to <sup>64</sup> minors.

Some of the slaves were trained as seamstresses, but all the women gathered on rainy days to assist in making the necessary clothing for the plantation. Each Negro received two woolen suits, two complete cotton outfits, and other essentials every year; wool blankets were distributed in alternate years. The woolen socks and stockings were knit by the old women in their cabins and by the young girls under the supervision of Mrs. Dabney. Members of the Dabney family frequently gave additional garments to the slaves, who, with few exceptions, had

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 66, 73.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 68, 71, 76-77.





much more than they needed stored away in trunks or chests. <sup>65</sup>

The planters used the slaves to take the place of our modern labor-saving devices; there was always someone available to run errands or do small tasks about the house. One overseer said that Burleigh had twenty-seven servants at the disposal of the Dabney household. The main cook had several assistants to help prepare the vegetables, bring in wood and water, and make special dishes or desserts. Some of the most reliable ones cleaned the house, served at the table, or nursed the young children. Four women and a boy had charge of the dairy and cows. Others were employed as blacksmiths, carpenters, and mill-workers. Certain ones were responsible for feeding the stock and keeping the stables and barns. An old man had full control of the chickens. Two women were kept busy in the laundry, and they often had additional help when there was much company at the plantation. <sup>66</sup>

Dabney had some Berkshire hogs, Southdown sheep, and Durham cattle, but not all of his livestock was blooded. The variety of animals provided the plantation with milk, butter, wool, and meat; the hides were made into shoes and leather goods. During the spring and summer lambs were slaughtered twice a week; at other seasons fat sheep, wild and domestic fowls, and

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 73-74.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 81-83.





game provided meat. Annually about 150 to 175 hogs were killed, and Dabney became famous for his Virginia method of curing hams and bacon. At least sixty fat chickens were kept in a coop ready  
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for use whenever needed.

The Dabney home, ~~known as Burleigh~~, "was well suited to the hot climate, as the halls and rooms were high-pitched and spacious." It was built on a healthful location, but Dabney carefully left a strip of trees from a "half-mile to nearly a mile in width, that no upturning of the soil in cultivation of the crops might endanger the health of the family." For ten years Mrs. Dabney and the children spent the summers in Virginia or with her father in Raymond. In 1854 the family purchased "a very simple but airy and cool house, situated in a grove of shade-trees looking directly on the shining beach and blue-waters of the Gulf." The distance from Burleigh to Pass Christian was one hundred and eighty miles, but for several years the Dabney family made the seven-day journey by carriages  
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and on horseback.

Dabney was more prosperous than the average planter in Hinds County and lived more like the wealthy planters near Natchez or in Virginia. Each year he traveled to New Orleans to transact

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 81-84.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 87, 97, 111, 171.



business, to buy luxuries for himself and family, and to enjoy the associations at the Whig political club. The census of 1850<sup>69</sup> listed him as owning real estate worth \$41,000. Four years later he was assessed for \$10,614 lent at interest, a watch worth \$130, two pleasure carriages valued at \$500, a piano worth \$300, silver and gold plate estimated at \$1,000, 100 cattle, 3 race or saddle horses, and 136 slaves under sixty years of age.<sup>70</sup>

The price of a slave was determined by his skills, age, disposition, and physical and mental characteristics. Some idea may be gained regarding the difference in value by noticing the individual slaves Mrs. M.W. Philips received from her father. The estimated worth of each was as follows: Philip, \$1,300; Rosetta, \$900; Scott, \$650; Spencer, \$500; Philip Jr., \$300; Wyatt, \$700; Jerry, \$800; "Fits" Hardy, \$25; Dolly, \$800; Jacob, \$750; Cordelia, \$500; Jane, \$450; and Montgomery ("gone off and stayed, too"), \$1.<sup>71</sup>

As was customary throughout the South, slaves were used for many things besides cultivating the fields and gathering the crops. Among the various jobs performed by them were the following: constructing houses, clearing new ground, mauling and

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<sup>69</sup> Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Hinds County, 1850.

<sup>70</sup> Tax Rolls of Hinds County, 1854.

<sup>71</sup> Riley (ed.), "Diary of a Mississippi Planter," in loc. cit., 466.





hauling rails for fences, digging ditches, cutting and hauling wood for fires, making bridles, weaving baskets from reeds, sawing shingles, cutting trees, rolling logs, mending harness, making bricks, throwing up dirt for levees to prevent overflows, repairing fences and houses, shucking and shelling corn, and working on the public roads.

Many slaves lived in Hinds County because agriculture was the principal occupation. As farm production increased so did the Negroes, who were especially well suited for the cultivation of cotton. In 1840 there were 6,769 white people, 45 free Negroes,<sup>72</sup> and 19,098 slaves. Ten years later the county had 8,690 white persons, 25 free Negroes, and 16,625 slaves.<sup>73</sup> In 1860 there were 8,940 white citizens, 36 free Negroes, and 22,363 slaves.<sup>74</sup> The slaves represented 74 per cent of the population in 1840, 66 per cent in 1850, and 71 per cent in 1860.

As a rule the slaves were well treated by all of their owners; for example, the planters gave them "a basket meeting" in 1857. The editor of the Hinds County Gazette remarked that those Negroes would be "better dressed, have more meat and bread, and

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<sup>72</sup> Census of Hinds County, 1840 (MS., in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi, ser. F, vol. 104.)

<sup>73</sup> The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850. Embracing a Statistical View of Each of the States and Territories, Arranged by Counties, Towns, Etc., -- (Washington, 1853), 447.

<sup>74</sup> Population of the United States in 1860, 265, 267, 269.





waste more cologne, than one-half of the northern sympathizers  
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 who bark dolefully over their condition."

Both the planters and the small farmers tried to grow enough foodstuff for the people and livestock; however they experienced many difficulties. Floods, drouths, freezes, and insects sometimes proved most disastrous to farm crops. The price of slaves and foodstuffs was affected by the amount of agricultural products available and the market situation. Martin W. Philips said that the state was generally bankrupt in 1840 and that some men moved elsewhere to prevent losing their slaves to the creditors. There was also much sickness among the slaves during the exceedingly  
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 dry, hot weather.

The planters of Hinds County were financially involved in the panic of 1857, although for a few weeks they considered it "a curse visited upon the Northern stock swindlers and money gamblers." Eventually the banks closed; cotton dropped in price; merchants refused to accept paper money; and business stopped. Everything had the "appearance of going to pieces," and the citizens of the county were "up to fever heat" for many days  
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 before encouraging reports came from New Orleans.

The editor of the Hinds County Gazette urged the planters to

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<sup>75</sup> Hinds County Gazette, September 9, 1857.

<sup>76</sup> Riley (ed.), "Diary of a Mississippi Planter," in loc. cit., 317-318.

<sup>77</sup> Hinds County Gazette, October 17-20, 1857.



profit by this experience and to cease being "mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for those who while they fatten on our prosperity, rejoice in our misfortune." He insisted that the South produced the staple crop of cotton, which was "the basis of the world's trade"; therefore he wanted the Southerners to purchase and operate a fleet of ocean-going vessels. This would then enable the planters to become independent of Wall Street, the bankers, and commission merchants. <sup>78</sup>

The soil and climate were so well suited to agriculture that few people engaged in other types of industry; also the state penitentiary began manufacturing establishments during the early 1840's. Superintendent C. M. Hart advertised in 1841 that the prisoners had made a large supply of "negro shoes," buggies, wagons, and carts of the best materials. These articles were sold to the public at market prices. <sup>79</sup>

Eighty convicts were constantly employed in such activities <sup>80</sup> five years later. The legislature appropriated the necessary funds to purchase the best equipment, to erect suitable buildings, and to construct "convenient rooms for the storage and sale of goods manufactured in the prison." <sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Hinds County Gazette, October 28, 1857.

<sup>79</sup> Mississippian, December 30, 1841.

<sup>80</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1846, 237-238.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 1850, 124-125.





By 1852 the factories in the state prison could produce \$45,000 worth of goods annually, which netted Mississippi a profit of \$15,000 to \$20,000. Each week the laborers averaged "4,000 yards of Osnaburgs, 1,000 yards of linseys, and 1,000 lbs of yarn."<sup>82</sup> The quantities of various products changed during the years, and there was a great increase in the value of the annual output. In 1846 the goods made by the convicts amounted to \$13,197.69, which was distributed as follows: blacksmith shop, \$2,182.45; wheelwright shop, \$3,958.71; shoemakers, \$576.10; weavers, tailors, and carders, \$1,239.77; brick-yard, \$5,209.66; and furniture factory, \$31.<sup>83</sup> Ten years later the penitentiary produced a total of \$23,286.88. This was divided among the following departments: cotton factory, \$15,379.26; wood shop, \$4,491.40; shoe shop, \$2,971.21; and brick-yard, \$535.01.<sup>84</sup>

Several attempts were made to establish private manufacturing establishments in Hinds County, but none was successful until the middle of the 1850's. As early as 1839 Cowles Mead and several others offered to sell stock in the Millhaven Manufacturing Company, but the newspapers contained no further mention of

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<sup>82</sup> De Bow's Review, XII (1852), 577.

<sup>83</sup> House Journal, 1848, 266.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 1859, Appendix, 16.





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this undertaking. Ten years afterwards six Jacksonians proposed to invest \$60,000 in a cotton factory, because the railroad facilities, abundant firewood, cheap foodstuff and "super-abundance" of raw materials made Jackson an ideal location.<sup>86</sup>

Plans for such a "Monster Factory" caused the citizens of Clinton to abandon the erection of a small establishment. The editor of the Hinds County Gazette lamented the fact that all prospects for any kind of factory in Hinds County were "stone-dead."<sup>87</sup>

Charles S. Sydnor wrote that "in Jackson, the capital, forty-five negroes, mostly children were employed" in a cotton mill during the early 1850's.<sup>88</sup> In 1849 H. Hilzheim estimated that \$30,000 invested in a cotton factory in Jackson would need \$19,047 worth of machinery and raw materials to produce 2,160 yards of lowells and 300 yards of lineys per day. This would mean a profit of sixty-five per cent on the investment; also the business men of the town would receive trade from the employees.<sup>89</sup>

In 1856 Joshua and Thomas Green started erecting a large

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<sup>85</sup> Southern Sun, April 9, 1839.

<sup>86</sup> Raymond Gazette, March 2, 1849.

<sup>87</sup> Hinds County Gazette, September 6, 1849.

<sup>88</sup> Charles S. Sydnor, Slavery in Mississippi (New York, 1933), 7.

<sup>89</sup> De Bow's Review, VII (1849), 176.



factory on the west bank of Pearl River.<sup>90</sup> The owners moved a foreman and twenty or thirty white families from Massachusetts to operate the mill.<sup>91</sup> Two years later the Pearl River Mills were in full operation and advertised that they made "a better quality than any other manufacture" brought to the Jackson market. The mills manufactured 7-8 lowells, linseys, cotton yarn, jeans, cotton thread, and cotton carpet warp.<sup>92</sup>

About the same time Samuel Pool and his partner began making "substantial, convenient, and really luxurious" folding mattresses, which had springs "so braced that there is no possibility for them to get out of place." Pool patented this invention as the Wells' Patent Folding Mattress. He claimed that it was "superior in finish, durability and style, and far surpasses any other bed in comfort and ease to a person."<sup>93</sup>

As was typical of the South, agriculture remained the principal occupation in Hinds County before 1860; however industrial activities greatly increased during the 1850's. This county had the usual number of small establishments and specialists who made such things as guns, saddles, shoes, harness, wagons,

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<sup>90</sup> Hinds County Gazette, November 19, 1856.

<sup>91</sup> Mrs. Mary Agnes Green Shelton, November 1, 1938, letter in the Records of the Pioneer Club, Jackson, Mississippi.

<sup>92</sup> Hinds County Gazette, August 25, 1858.

<sup>93</sup> Jackson Daily News, April 4, June 5, 1860.





wheeled carts, carriages, and parts for various factories. In 1860 there were, besides the penitentiary, ten privately owned establishments manufacturing agricultural implements, boots and shoes, cotton goods, woolen goods, vehicles, machinery, and iron products. The total capital investment amounted to \$167,790, and the annual output was worth \$223,493. The 309 employees received wages of \$51,060 per year.<sup>94</sup> The Eighth Census of the United States estimated that in 1860 Hinds County contained real estate valued at \$12,521,293 and personal property worth approximately \$29,524,002.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Manufactures of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, 1865), 287.

<sup>95</sup> Population of the United States in 1860, 306.





Hinds County  
Agricultural Report

	<sup>1</sup> 1840	<sup>2</sup> 1850	<sup>3</sup> 1860
horses and mules	4,364	6,636	7,688
cattle	17,595	20,402	16,737
sheep	3,439	12,283	11,926
swine	40,290	58,471	46,210
bushels of oats	24,650	61,689	6,508
bushels of Indian corn	650,500	853,305	1,028,343
pounds of rice	50,000	106,650	2,920
bales of cotton at 400 pounds each	24,279	19,829	64,685
orchard products	\$1,300	\$4,100	\$5,459
garden products	\$1,150	\$9,115	\$4,157
pounds of wool	10,317	26,962	36,870
acres of improved land in farms		164,457	190,599
acres of unimproved land in farms		276,966	210,342
cash value of farms		\$2,169,646	\$6,240,445
value of farm equipment		\$246,770	\$311,161
value of livestock		\$724,972	\$1,432,495
value of slaughtered animals		\$122,812	\$226,842
bushels of peas and beans		79,001	105,629
bushels of Irish potatoes		18,711	16,328
bushels of sweet potatoes		240,435	178,387
tons of hay		2,336	1,575

<sup>1</sup>Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, 223-224.

<sup>2</sup>Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, 456-459.

<sup>3</sup>Agriculture of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census (Washington, 1864), 84-87.



Hinds County Tax Returns	<sup>1</sup> 1835	<sup>2</sup> 1845	<sup>3</sup> 1855	<sup>4</sup> 1860
money loaned at interest	\$8,950	\$61,379	\$309,282	\$813,996
merchandise sold in stores	\$274,485	\$570,418	\$1,080,919	\$1,018,130
value of pleasure carriages	\$7,556	\$34,615	\$111,395	\$185,684
white polls (men from 21 to 60)	1,259	1,940	1,346	1,680
free Negroes	7	13	(taxed) 1	57 (21 to 60)
slaves	8,354	13,017	16,870 (taxed)	21,636 (under 60)
total amount paid as state tax	\$6,300.08	\$22,191.07	\$11,844.44	\$23,346.45
value of pianos		\$14,655	\$36,330	\$58,879
value of ferries & toll bridges		\$6,350	\$2,050	(tax) \$400
value of clocks		\$7,062	\$7,417	\$6,890
value of watches		\$34,200	\$50,859	\$81,900
value of gold and silver plate		\$2,570	\$15,807	\$20,064
merchandise sold by auction or ped- dlers		\$1,920	\$2,172	\$1,800

<sup>1</sup>"Assessment of Personal Property in Hinds County," Senate Journal, 1835, 33-35.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 1846, 244 ff.

<sup>3</sup>House Journal, 1856, 152 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1860, 40 ff.





## CHAPTER IV

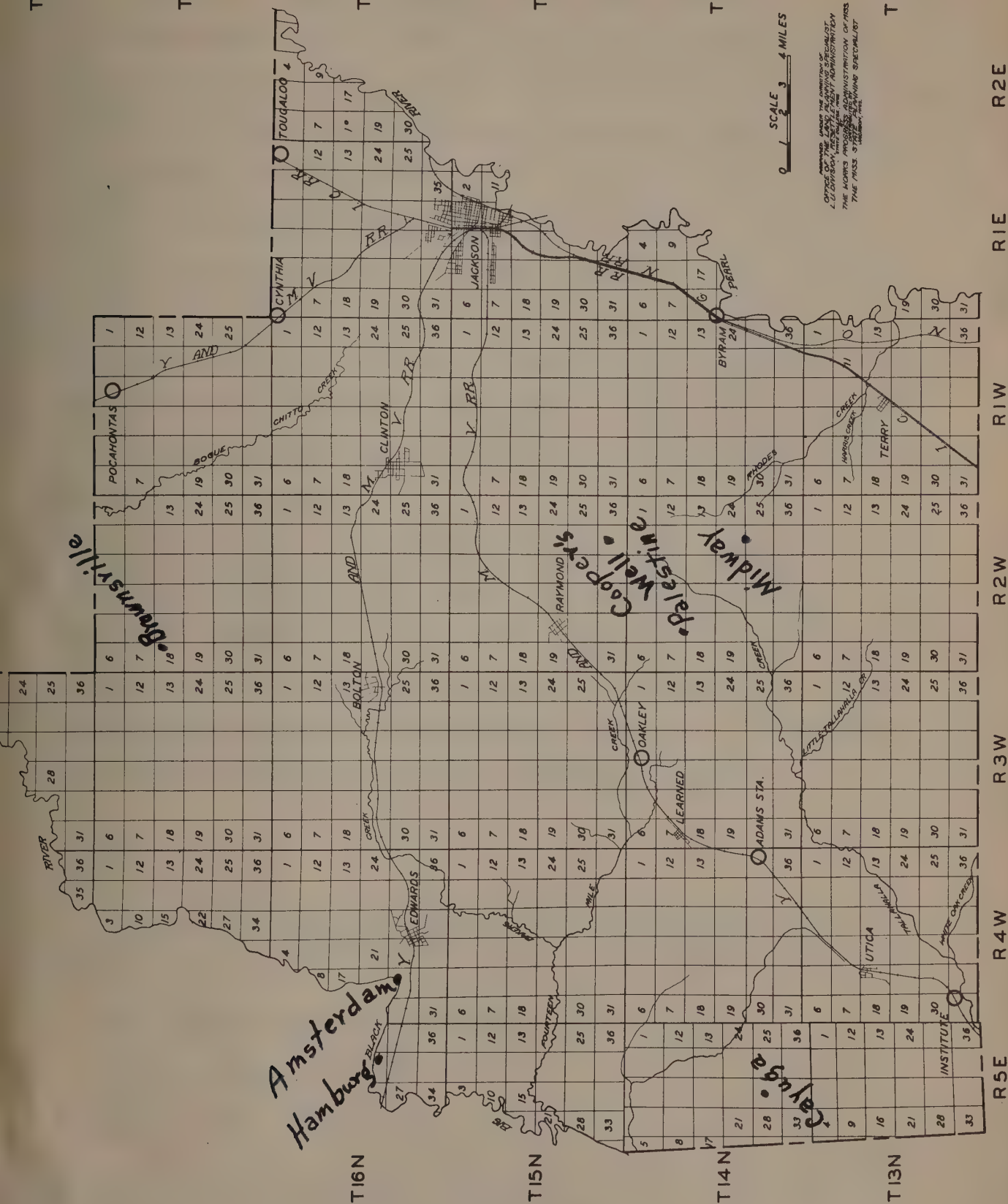
### TOWNS AND COMMUNITIES

Pioneer white settlers did not migrate into the central part of Mississippi until after the Choctaw Cession of 1820. The capital was located on Pearl River in 1821, but few people moved there for about fifteen years. Many persons acquired homesteads from the United States land office at Clinton during the early 1830's, and immigration greatly increased after the completion of the railroad to Vicksburg. Trade facilities improved after 1858, when Jackson obtained direct railroad connections with New Orleans. No good road or railroad extended eastward to Alabama until after 1860. Some of the earliest settlements were abandoned because they were not located on a main highway or railroad. All of the incorporated towns and some of the small communities had schools, churches, and local governments. In 1841 William L. Sharkey proposed this toast: "To Hinds County, an Empire in itself, holding Jackson, the seat of government, Raymond, the seat of justice, Clinton, the seat of science, and





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last though not least, Amsterdam, the port of entry."<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the capital was established at Jackson, the legislature appropriated money to construct roads and mail routes. In 1823 the sum of \$300 was granted for the purpose of opening "the nearest and best practicable route to the Mississippi river." The commissioners were expected to make the road twelve feet wide, to cut all stumps within six inches of the ground, and to slope the banks of streams to be forded.<sup>2</sup> Three years later \$500 was allotted to complete this forty-five mile stretch between Jackson and Vicksburg.<sup>3</sup> After 1833 the legislature instructed the Hinds County Board of Police to maintain the road and bridges.<sup>4</sup>

As soon as the new road was constructed, John R. Jefferson began operating a stage coach line between Vicksburg and Clinton, a distance of thirty-five miles. He promised safe conveyance for passengers and baggage, because he used only "the most careful drivers and the best broke horses." Three trips were made each week between the two places; the regular schedule

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<sup>1</sup>Franklin L. Riley, "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi," in Mississippi Historical Society, Publications, V (1902), 337.

<sup>2</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1822-1823, 93-95.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1826, 46.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 1833, 466.





required twelve hours for the journey.<sup>5</sup> Later Jefferson and rival companies operated stage coach lines throughout Hinds County, and these connected with coaches to other sections of the state.<sup>6</sup>

Stage coaches and ox-wagons did not provide adequate transportation facilities over the muddy or dusty roads; therefore the legislature incorporated a company for the purpose of constructing a railroad from Clinton to Vicksburg.<sup>7</sup> A small steam locomotive<sup>8</sup> and "a train of cars" daily operated between Vicksburg and the Big Black River before the tracks were laid to Clinton. People from all parts of Hinds County gathered to welcome the first train load of prominent citizens, who arrived in Clinton on May 6, 1840. The festivities were interrupted by a terrific tornado,<sup>9</sup> which damaged the track and bridges to the extent of \$100,000. The next morning the Vicksburg guests<sup>10</sup> were carried home in carriages and wagons. The repairs were<sup>11</sup> soon made and the railroad was extended to Jackson.

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<sup>5</sup> Mississippian, November 13, 1835.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., October 4, 1839.

<sup>7</sup> Law of Mississippi, 1831, 127-130.

<sup>8</sup> Charles S. Sydnor and Claude Bennett, Mississippi History (Chicago, 1930), 166-167; Mississippian, March 8, 1839.

<sup>9</sup> Raymond Times, May 8, 1840.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.; Sydnor and Bennett, Mississippi History, 167.

<sup>11</sup> Balthasar Henry Meyer (ed.), History of Transportation in the United States before 1860 (Washington, 1917), 475.





The earliest settlements in the western part of Hinds County were along Big Black River; however these were abandoned by the early 1840's.<sup>12</sup> The inhabitants of Hamburg moved elsewhere because the surroundings were too marshy. Amsterdam was an important trading and shipping center for several years, as boats could bring supplies up the Big Black River from Vicksburg. It suffered the loss of approximately half its population during an epidemic of cholera. Antibank, in the extreme northwestern corner of the county, was a prosperous trading point for planters in that region. The completion of the railroad south of these towns enabled the planters to ship their cotton more satisfactorily by train than by boat from either Amsterdam or Antibank; therefore the towns rapidly declined.

The first important town in Hinds County was Clinton, ten miles west of Jackson. It was known as Mount Dexter and Mount Salus before the name was changed to Clinton in 1828. On February 12, 1830, the town was incorporated by the legislature.<sup>13</sup> At that time it "contained the land office, postoffice, two brick churches, Methodist and Presbyterian, four hotels, . . . a brick academy with thirty or forty pupils, and in all about two

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<sup>12</sup> Riley, "Extinct Towns and Villages of Mississippi," in loc.cit., 336-337.

<sup>13</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1830, 84-87.



hundred inhabitants."<sup>14</sup> The first land office and the first postoffice in Mississippi were located at Clinton.<sup>15</sup>

Probably the first white settler in Hinds County was Walter Leake, who came from Virginia to serve as a territorial judge and lived not far from Clinton. His forty-five slaves "cut and dressed the timbers, burnt the brick, and built the first brick house" in that section of the state. The home, known as Mount Salus, was "fashioned after the style of the English manor-house; square built, with wide windows, heavy doors and solid floors." The entrance hall had a stone floor and deep, high windows let into the thick walls.<sup>16</sup> The most distinguished visitor at Mount Salus was the world-famous Frenchman, Lafayette, who came to see Leake in 1825.<sup>17</sup>

Cowles Mead also had a magnificent estate near Clinton. The "large and commodious house" was built in a fifty-acre lawn through which passed a broad driveway for carriages. The lawn was covered with Bermuda grass, which Mead is supposed to have

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<sup>14</sup> Charles Hillman Brough, "Historic Clinton," in Mississippi Historical Society, Publications, VII (1903), 287.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 284; Dunbar Rowland, Encyclopedia of Mississippi History, Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions and Persons, 2 vols. (Madison, Wis., 1907), I, 455.

<sup>16</sup> Mrs. N. D. Deupree, "Some Historic Homes of Mississippi," in Mississippi Historical Society, Publications, VI (1902), 251-252.

<sup>17</sup> Brough, "Historic Clinton," in loc. cit., 283.





brought into the United States. Ornamental shrubs, vines, trees, and flowers added to the attractiveness of the place. A variety of "hot-house plants bloomed in profusion" in the greenhouse adjoining the dining room.<sup>18</sup>

Clinton, from the earliest period, was noted for its "picturesque and healthy location," and many of the wealthy planters brought their families to this resort during the summer months. The original Spring Hill Hotel was "a double log cabin of two main rooms with a narrow hallway between, and some clapboard shed rooms attached."<sup>19</sup> An attractive frame building was later erected on top of the principal hill, at the base of which the spring was "enclosed in brick, with marble basin and stone steps leading down to it."<sup>20</sup> At one time Clinton had enough travelers to justify the maintenance of five hotels.

The original owner of Clinton was Charles M. Lawson, who obtained the land on March 19 and 31, 1923; however, it was not divided into town lots until several years later when a number of adventurous persons migrated to that section. Joseph Molt Ingraham visited the village in the early 1830's and observed

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 286; Deupree, "Some Historic Homes of Mississippi," in loc. cit., 250-251.

<sup>19</sup>"The History of Clinton," Hinds County Gazette, April 28, 1875.

<sup>20</sup>Brough, "Historic Clinton," in loc. cit., 284-285.

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the large number of young doctors and lawyers who had come from the Eastern cities and "every state in the Union." The young men were "fashionably dressed, with sword canes dangling from their fingers." Few ladies or old people were seen in the town, which was "one of the prettiest and most flourishing villages<sup>21</sup> in the State."

Ingraham said Clinton contained some good buildings, did much business, and had two organized churches. There was a printing office, which published a weekly newspaper. He mentioned the "flourishing female seminary" directed by "a lady, formerly well known in the literary world of New-York." The town also had a college, but it was "not of long standing or very flourishing." He was disgusted to see so many men spending their time "smoking and conversing, sometimes with animation, but more commonly with an air of indifference."<sup>22</sup> Evidently these loafers found more profitable entertainment, because in 1839 the citizens organized to drive the gamblers out of Clinton. The officers were instructed to punish any person who was "even suspected of playing Faro." The people felt that the gamblers were not only violating the law but also teaching<sup>23</sup> "unsuspecting boys vicious, demoralizing, and ruinous habits."

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<sup>21</sup> Ingraham, The South-West by A Yankee, I, 167.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 167-168.

<sup>23</sup> Southern Marksman, February 13, 1839.



Throughout the ante-bellum period Clinton was recognized as a center of culture and refinement, but there were many characteristics of the frontier community. In 1834 the delegates at the Methodist Conference commended the town for its "refined and intelligent population."<sup>24</sup> The following year the inhabitants were fully armed and ready to wage war against the outlaws, slaves, and insurrectionaries. The women and children were carefully guarded in the brick church, while the men patrolled the town and permitted none to enter without passports. The threatened attack by the Murrell gang of desperadoes never<sup>25</sup> materialized.

Even more excitement existed over the rumored uprising of the slaves in 1835. It was thought that the Negroes in about eleven counties in central Mississippi would simultaneously murder their owners and destroy property. A committee of citizens investigated all suspicious white and black persons and hanged several. The militia searched the nearby woods and swamps; the men organized themselves for self-defense and the suppression of possible riots.<sup>26</sup> Hiram Runnels issued an executive proclamation requesting all citizens to be vigilant

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<sup>24</sup> John G. Jones, A Complete History of Methodism as Connected with the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Church, South, 2 vols. (Nashville and Dallas, 1908), II, 313.

<sup>25</sup> Brough, "Historic Clinton," in loc. cit., 291.

<sup>26</sup> Henry S. Foote, Casket of Reminiscences (Washington, 1874), 251.





in stopping any uprisings and in reporting all questionable characters to the proper authorities.<sup>27</sup>

Clinton had the usual variety of stores and small business establishments, but some were particularly interesting. In 1837 Nelson Kavanaugh erected a bathhouse "in a luxury peculiar to the once polished Greek and noble Roman." The white flag meant that only ladies were admitted, and the proprietor promised that they would "be guarded from each vagrant foot and licentious eye."<sup>28</sup> W. L. Ayers claimed that he used the Italian method for cleaning fine clothes without injuring the fabric or changing the "fit" of the garment. He also made any style of clothes "inferior to none in the Union," and he restored hats "to their original color, and made [them] to look equal to new."<sup>29</sup>

Raymond was the second town in Hinds County to become important as a social and business center; it also attracted many visitors by virtue of the fact that it was the county seat. The town was incorporated on the original one-eighth section of land, which had been donated by Raymond Robinson.<sup>30</sup> Eligible

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<sup>27</sup> Administration of Governor Hiram G. Runnels, Letters, Petitions, etc., May, 1835, to November, 1835 (MSS., in Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi), ser. 3, vol. 29.

<sup>28</sup> Southern Sun, July 15, 1837.

<sup>29</sup> Southern Marksman, November 28, 1838.

<sup>30</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1830, 89-90.





voters were "all male inhabitants subject to taxation, who shall be in possession of a room, or rooms separate and apart to themselves." The limits of the town were extended to include two<sup>31</sup> and a half more acres of land in 1831.

The county seat developed rapidly because it was easily reached by stage coaches from all sections of the state. In 1838 there were four hundred and thirty inhabitants,<sup>32</sup> but within a year there were seven hundred and eleven.<sup>33</sup> As the citizens increased in number and wealth, the selectmen ordered the owners to pave wide sidewalks in front of all property on or near the public square.<sup>34</sup> Later the property holders on Clinton Street were required to pave with brick or stone a strip eight feet wide so as to facilitate travel between the main part of the town and the railroad depot.<sup>35</sup>

In 1838 a company was chartered for the purpose of building a branch line to connect Raymond with the Vicksburg and Jackson railway.<sup>36</sup> The mule-drawn cars were discontinued after a few

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<sup>31</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1831, 21.

<sup>32</sup>L. A. Besancon, Besancon's Annual Register of the State of Mississippi, for the Year 1838. Compiled from the Original Documents and Actual Surveys (Natchez, 1838), 147.

<sup>33</sup>Raymond Times, April 10, 1839.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., March 8, 1839.

<sup>35</sup>Hinds County Gazette, March 20, 1851.

<sup>36</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1838, 197-201.



months because of the depression of 1840 and the lack of patronage. W. Hal Smith operated the trains from 1851 to 1857 and made many improvements; on April 29, 1852, he replaced the mules with "a magnificent Locomotive and sundry elegant Passenger Cars."<sup>37</sup> The eight miles between the county seat and Bolton's Depot required forty minutes as the train averaged ten miles per hour.<sup>38</sup>

Some of the business firms were interesting and unusual. William Henry Mayson conducted the Raymond Saloon of Fashion and performed all of the tonsorial services "in the most perfect style of art" by using the best implements and adapting hair arrangements "to the facial and cranial developments so as to conceal defects and illustrate the latent beauties of the head and face." He dyed whiskers and hair any desired color within ten minutes.<sup>39</sup> E. von Seutter, a native German, kept an assortment of jewelry, guns, music, et cetera; in addition he claimed to make superior "ambrotypes, daguerreotypes, microtypes, sphereotypes, and virotypes."<sup>40</sup> He received semi-monthly information from New York artists, who were skilled in the same line of work.

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<sup>37</sup> Hinds County Gazette, April 29, 1852.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., April 22, 1852.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., December 9, 1852.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., March 24, 1857.





Near Raymond there were many mineral springs, which were popular resorts and watering places from about 1840 to 1860. Raymond Springs advertised its excellent sulphur water, attractive surroundings, "a bathing house" for hot and cold baths, and a "restorato" with refreshments for the gentlemen.<sup>41</sup> One editor remarked that Fairchild's Well supplied water that "would galvanize metal as well as a battery. It also contained more iron, before the last anvil was drawn out of it, than any well in the state."<sup>42</sup>

Mississippi Springs, five miles east of Raymond, was one of the most popular resorts for many years. In 1839 the manager announced that there were a "large and commodious bar room," billiard room, ten pin alley, "airy and convenient stables," a spacious ballroom, and an abundant supply of superior water.<sup>43</sup> Regular stage coaches were operated to that place from both Clinton and Raymond; however many families came in their own carriages or on horseback. In 1846 five dollars was paid for a license to keep the "house of Public Entertainment for twelve months," and one hundred dollars was paid for permission to retail vinous and spirituous liquors at the hotel.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Raymond Times, June 22, 1839.

<sup>42</sup> Raymond Fencible, August 22, 1849.

<sup>43</sup> Raymond Times, June 21, 1839.

<sup>44</sup> Minutes of the Hinds County Board of Police, 1846.





The most famous ante-bellum health resort in the central part of Mississippi was Cooper's Well, which was favorably known throughout the Southwest. The property was owned by several persons before it was acquired by the Reverend Preston Cooper, who repeatedly dreamed that the land contained medicinal qualities.<sup>45</sup> After it was dug, the exceedingly deep well supplied an abundant quantity of water with "cathartic or aperient properties" according to the amount consumed. It was recommended for many chronic diseases, and patients came from distant sections of the country.<sup>46</sup> Stage coaches regularly operated to and from Cooper's Well and provided transportation connections with the nearest railroads.

Increasing numbers of people came to this resort during the 1840's and 1850's. The Raymond Fencible stated in the summer of 1840 that "not less than three hundred persons were partaking of its waters, and many were turned away each day." It was claimed that invalids drank the mineral water and returned "to their homes, with restored health, renewed energies, and resuscitated systems."<sup>47</sup> Ten years later the manager promised to accommodate one thousand guests and to provide them with

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<sup>45</sup> Hubert Spengler, History of Cooper's Well (Jackson, 1923), 9.

<sup>46</sup> Raymond Gazette, March 2, 1849, quoting the New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal, August 11, 1848.

<sup>47</sup> Raymond Fencible, August 22, 1840.



excellent food, attentive servants, and "all amusements requisite to a watering place."<sup>48</sup>

The season of 1857 was "the crowning glory of Cooper's Well and established its claim beyond all question, as the first watering place in the South." General T. C. McMakin was called "the most popular landlord in the world" because "at times the visitors numbered up to 500, 800, 1,000 and on one or two occasions 1,500."<sup>49</sup> These figures were most probably exaggerated by the enthusiastic editor and <sup>the</sup> manager; however the resort was advertised in De Bow's Review<sup>50</sup> and was patronized by many from other states. One writer explained that the average guests were "persons of ample means--independent livers at home, and money-spenders when abroad--while invalids constituted a goodly portion of the crowd of visitors, still hundreds and thousands who frequented the place were mere seekers of pleasure."<sup>51</sup>

Cooper's Well was famous for its many fashionable and elaborate balls and entertainments. The summer season opened with a May Day celebration and coronation of a May Queen and closed with a grand masquerade ball. In 1851 Madame De Graux

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<sup>48</sup> Hinds County Gazette, May 3, 1850.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., September 23, 1857.

<sup>50</sup> De Bow's Review, XI (1851), 226.

<sup>51</sup> Hinds County Gazette, August 8, 1850.





brought her supply of New Orleans Carnival costumes for the ladies and gentlemen to wear.<sup>52</sup> After a few weeks there was an epidemic of yellow fever in Hinds County, and many people thought that the germs had been spread from the rented clothing. Adopting this idea of contagion, the owners of Cooper's Well publicly burned all the pillows, bolsters, and mattresses, which had been used at that time.<sup>53</sup> This experience did not stop the annual masquerade balls at Cooper's Well; it was claimed one thousand persons enjoyed the festivities in 1859.<sup>54</sup>

The most critical description of this resort was found in a letter to the Raymond Fencible. In 1849 the buildings were "mere sheds, built of unplanned planks, and with such loose partitions between the rooms, that a quiet person could be edified and amused with the conversation on his right and left." The main hotel was "about the size and appearance of an ordinary farm house, with a parlor sufficiently large for a small family." All the buildings were situated on top of a high "gravelly hill,"<sup>55</sup> which was covered with tall pines and thick undergrowth. According to our present viewpoint, these conditions were too

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<sup>52</sup> Spengler, History of Cooper's Well, 34-35.

<sup>53</sup> Hinds County Gazette, March 12, 1852.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., August 24, 1859.

<sup>55</sup> Raymond Fencible, August 22, 1849.





primitive for pleasure or comfort; however even the most fashionable spas in Virginia had buildings and furnishings which were "primitive in the extreme."<sup>56</sup>

In 1859 the stockholders advertised their willingness to sell or rent Cooper's Well, twenty slaves, farm implements, and two hundred acres of land. The hotel was described as being "roomy and airy, and of substantial build, two stories high, well furnished, and capable of accommodating 500 guests easily." The owners had invested \$90,000 in the resort, but they would accept \$50,000 for it.<sup>57</sup> R. W. Benbury and Company purchased the property and promised to make it "suitable for those in search of health or pleasure" and "second to none other in the Country."<sup>58</sup>

Jackson on the extreme eastern boundary of Hinds County was more isolated than Clinton and Raymond during the 1820's and 1830's. Jackson was of practically no importance as a town or trading center until after transportation facilities improved. The Pearl River was navigable when the water was high, but the current and debris kept many boats from using that waterway. For several years a ferry was operated across this

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<sup>56</sup>Agnes Rothery, Virginia, the New Dominion (New York, 1940), 248.

<sup>57</sup>Hinds County Gazette, August 24, 1859.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., August 1, 1860; Copiah County News, August 1, 1860.



river at Jackson, but in 1846 the legislature authorized the mayor and aldermen of the town to levy a tax for the purpose of constructing a bridge.<sup>59</sup>

The capital slowly developed railroad connections with other sections, although for many years its only outlet was the forty-five mile line to Vicksburg. After June 1, 1856, a steam-propelled train operated between Jackson and Canton to the north.<sup>60</sup> In spite of strong opposition by the citizens of Vicksburg, the legislature granted a charter to the New Orleans and Jackson Railroad Company, on February 20, 1850.<sup>61</sup> There was much rejoicing when the final rail was put in place and through-train service was started between the Mississippi capital and the Crescent City. Many people gathered at the station and a cannon was fired as "the little engine James Robb thundered into Jackson" on March 31, 1858.<sup>62</sup>

The legislature located the state capital on the west bank of Pearl River and named the town Jackson in 1821, but it was not incorporated until January 21, 1823.<sup>63</sup> The town was

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<sup>59</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1846, 312-317.

<sup>60</sup> Thomas D. Clark, A Pioneer Southern Railroad from New Orleans to Cairo (Chapel Hill, 1936), 51.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 59, 61; Laws of Mississippi, 1850, 70.

<sup>62</sup> Clark, Pioneer Southern Railroad, 76; Mississippian and State Gazette, March 31, 1858.

<sup>63</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1823, 111-112.





enlarged in 1840 and the mayor and aldermen were granted power to do whatever was necessary "for the harmony and good government" of the citizens.<sup>64</sup> The legislature passed special laws regulating the voters in Jackson; the first approved an ordinance which stated that no person could participate in the election of city officials unless he had paid "street tax or taxes for the preceding year."<sup>65</sup> Another restriction required an eligible voter in city elections to register with a special clerk to prove that he had resided there for the previous four months.<sup>66</sup>

The population increased so much that the city limits were extended westward in 1848.<sup>67</sup> Several years earlier this area had been subdivided and sold for building lots. The continuation of Pearl and Capitol Streets gave business establishments more room for expansion "than in the already crowded business parts of the city." Also the elevated lots afforded "men engaged in active pursuits, the means of withdrawing from the anxiety of business to the quiet of their families unexposed to intrusion."<sup>68</sup> The mayor and aldermen were instructed by the legislature "to

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<sup>64</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1840, 99-112.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 1846, 512-513.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 1859-1860, 304, 369.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 1848, 377.

<sup>68</sup> Mississippian, December 27, 1839, January 3, 1840.





lay out, alter, extend and establish all needful roads, highways, streets and alleys within the town as they thought were expedient to facilitate travel and business." The Circuit Court was authorized to settle any disputes arising in regard to the right of way.<sup>69</sup>

During the early days Jackson was known as a place where the citizens were "blood thirsty desperadoes," and human life was "held by an uncertain and precarious tenure." Probably only a few participated in "broils and personal conflicts,"<sup>70</sup> but the town was a typical frontier village for about fifteen years. Franklin L. Riley quoted the famous<sup>John</sup> James Audubon as saying that in 1822 the capital was "a mean place, a rendezvous for gamblers and vagabonds."<sup>71</sup> An editor of a Natchez paper told of seeing on the streets of Jackson "a man armed with a fowling piece about seven feet in length, and sundry pistols, and a Bowie knife, threatening to assassinate ex-Governor Runnels."<sup>72</sup>

In March, 1839, a mass meeting was held in the old State House for the purpose of reforming the town. The citizens believed that riots and disorderly conduct would stop if the "ruffian violators of the law" were driven out. The men adopted

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<sup>69</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1856, 131.

<sup>70</sup> Mississippian, December 18, 1835.

<sup>71</sup> Franklin L. Riley, School History of Mississippi (Richmond, 1915), 171.

<sup>72</sup> Mississippian, December 18, 1839, quoting the Mississippi Free Trader.



resolutions promising "to faithfully aid and assist the civil authorities in procuring evidence against any person or persons engaged in any riotous or disorderly assembly and unlawful games." All citizens were to look with contempt upon any violator of the statute laws or of decent, moral conduct. A committee was appointed to investigate all questionable characters and to report the results to the city officers.<sup>73</sup>

A few months later the citizens assembled to rid the town of all gamblers and free Negroes who were accused of wrongdoing. The men wanted to promote and to protect "the good name, good morals, and reputation of Jackson." They pledged to do everything possible to free the town of all undesirable persons, known as "black legs." Groups were chosen to search all questionable places and to arrest any individual suspected of being a gambler. According to the published copy of the resolutions, three days were given the gamblers to leave; afterwards legal measures would be taken to force them to depart. A group of twenty-four men aided the officers' search for gamblers and gambling devices. A public bonfire destroyed all the faro tables, cards, and other objectionable articles. Each tavern keeper was asked to remove those who were suspicious characters. If he refused this request, the citizens of the town threatened to boycott his establish-

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., March 15, 1839; Southern Sun, March 19, 1839.





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ment.

Two days afterwards the men reassembled to report on the campaign and to plan their procedure if the "black legs" failed to leave. Since adequate laws existed for the crusade against gambling, resolutions were adopted requesting the local officers to enforce most rigidly all state laws and city ordinances. Warrants were to be issued for the arrest of any person who depended upon gambling as his means of livelihood; these men were to be placed in jail unless they gave security promising not to gamble in the vicinity of Jackson. Lawyers were requested to do nothing to hinder or to evade the penalties imposed upon the guilty individuals. Every citizen was asked to maintain a "constant and vigilant patrol" so as to prevent any recurrence of gambling in any form. The assembly also adopted resolutions requesting the "immediate and rigid enforcement of laws relative to the free negroes and mulattoes."

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The Raymond Times reported that Jackson had been successful in its campaign against the "black legs"; about fifteen gambling houses were raided, and all the gambling devices were burned in the streets. For several days the citizens carried

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<sup>74</sup> Southern Sun, June 18, 1839, reporting the meeting held on June 9, 1839.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., reporting the meeting held on June 11, 1839.





their guns and pistols, but all the gamblers peacefully submitted and evacuated.<sup>76</sup> Within ten days after the initial meeting of the citizens, Jackson was rid of all the undesirable "black legs" and not a single gambling house remained. The citizens were highly commended for achieving their purpose by peaceful methods.<sup>77</sup>

No accurate records are available of all the early inhabitants, but many of their descendants continue to live in the town. Some of those who migrated to the state capital before 1860 were the following: Thomas and Joshua Green from Baltimore, Maryland; James and Eleanor Digneon O'Sullivan from Ireland; John Hart from Kuppenheim, Germany; Peter Muller from Deimstadt, Bavaria; George A. Smythe from London, England; Charles Rietti from Faide Cantons Ticon, Switzerland; Isadore Strauss from Weisenberg, Alsace-Lorraine; and J. L. Power from Ireland. The foreigners usually came by boat to New Orleans and then by train to Jackson. In addition many persons migrated from other sections of the United States and traveled overland from the Carolinas.<sup>78</sup>

Probably the first person to write his impression of Jackson

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<sup>76</sup> Raymond Times, June 14, 1839.

<sup>77</sup> Southern Sun, June 18, 1839.

<sup>78</sup> Records of the Pioneer Club (MSS, Mrs. Carroll Martin, historian, Jackson, Mississippi).

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was the Reverend John H. Vancourt, who went there in 1823. According to him, the inhabitants included about a dozen families and a few people on nearby farms. There was no regular preaching of any kind. He said the pious mourned the lack of religious advantages, but that the number did not justify a church organization. He preached three times during his short visit.<sup>79</sup>

In the early 1830's Joseph Holt Ingraham wrote that Jackson was "built upon a level area, half a mile square, cut out from the depth of the forest which surrounds it." A dense growth of trees separated the town from Pearl River. He mentioned a bank, three newspaper offices, and "a plain two-storied brick edifice" for the legislature. He said that not only the Capitol but also many private buildings were being constructed. Ingraham stated that only during sessions of the legislature or supreme court did Jackson show any great activity.<sup>80</sup>

Another person said that in 1831 Jackson had only five or six families, and the entire population could have been "comfortably seated in one room of ordinary size." Practically no business was transacted by the few stores, which all together contained about "a mule's load of coarse and illy assorted merchandize." There were three "doggeries" in crude cabins where

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<sup>79</sup>Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1891), II, 356.

<sup>80</sup>Ingraham, The South-West by a Yankee, II, 173.





"blue rain was retailed by the half pint." The vacant lots were overgrown with weeds, and rabbits ran along many of the streets. It seemed as if "the very genius of desolation brooded o'er the deserted village."<sup>81</sup>

Thomas Jesse Wharton graduated from the University of Nashville and then started to Mississippi to practice law. He rode horseback for four hundred miles before reaching Jackson in October, 1837. At the Mansion House he found a group of men playing chess or backgammon, while others were running horse races in State Street. After supper he walked around the town and saw an "underground, dark and cavernous saloon" where a "gay and festive party were making the night hideous with their bacchanalian revels." There were about nine hundred inhabitants in the town, and the many vacant lots were grown up with weeds. The few scattered buildings were of the "plainest materials, and wholly devoid of architectural taste or design." Wharton was so "disappointed and disheartened and disgusted" that the next morning he rode to Clinton and established his law office. In that town "every thing denoted thrift, prosperity and enterprise"; also it had "a refined, cultured, and hospitable society."<sup>82</sup>

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81

Southern Sun, November 17, 1838.

82

Daily Clarion Ledger, December 19, 1895.





The capital presented an entirely different appearance in 1838, when Jackson contained five hundred and twenty inhabitants, two hotels, several prosperous stores, and two weekly news-  
<sup>83</sup>

papers. The editor of the Southern Sun wrote that the hotels were "literally crammed with guests" because the town was daily crowded with "hundreds of bustling citizens and strangers."

Construction work was progressing on the Capitol, state penitentiary, "a good brick Methodist Church," and private buildings. The inhabitants were "active, enterprising and refined,"  
<sup>84</sup>  
 and there was the minimum of vice and dissipation.

Business conditions continued to improve, and Jackson became the trading point for the central part of Mississippi. The completion of the railroad to Vicksburg enabled the merchants to obtain a greater variety of goods as well as to sell them for cheaper prices. During the fall of 1842 the merchants and planters shipped more than 24,000 bales of cotton from Jackson,

and it was estimated that they would ship at least 40,000 bales the next year.  
<sup>85</sup>

One editor attributed this excellent business condition to the fact that the merchants adopted "a hard money  
<sup>86</sup>  
currency" in 1839. This prosperity caused the population to

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<sup>83</sup> Besancon, Besancon's Annual Register, 146.

<sup>84</sup> Southern Sun, November 17, 1838.

<sup>85</sup> Southron, August 30, 1843.

<sup>86</sup> Mississippian, October 11, 1843.



increase to 2,231 inhabitants in 1843.<sup>87</sup>

The good business conditions resulted in the accumulation of considerable money, but there was much criticism of the manner in which some of the banks were managed. Hiram Runnels "basely and brutally attacked" Governor A. G. McNutt for remarks which he made regarding the Union Bank. Runnels used his cane to strike several severe blows on McNutt's head. The injuries and loss of blood kept the governor in bed for two or three days.<sup>88</sup> This method of warfare was often used by the Southerners to settle their disputes.

On May 1, 1839, perhaps at the home of Thomas Green, the men of Jackson organized a volunteer fire company, which was also a social club. Green gave \$5,000 to purchase the first engine with the motto "Always Ready" engraved on it, and Captain J. P. Stevens donated the first hand-drawn fire-hose carriage. It is said that he also purchased from Tiffany's two sterling silver vases about two and a half feet high; these were placed on either side of the hose carriage.<sup>89</sup> The Jackson Fire Company Number 1 was incorporated by the legislature on February 22, 1840.<sup>90</sup> Two years later the active members were exempted from

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<sup>87</sup> Southron, August 30, 1843.

<sup>88</sup> Mississippian, July 17, 1840.

<sup>89</sup> Mrs. Mary Agnes Green Shelton, letter dated November 1, 1938, in Records of Pioneer Club, Jackson, Mississippi.

<sup>90</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1840, 286-287.





military duty during times of peace,<sup>91</sup> and in 1852 they were  
<sup>92</sup>  
 exempted from jury service.

The firemen received financial assistance from the city,  
 state, and general public for the purchasing of equipment. In  
 1850 and 1857 the legislature appropriated funds to buy fire  
 hose and "a small Suction Engine, suitable for rapid movement  
<sup>93</sup>  
 in cases of fire." This generosity was the result of the  
 Jackson firemen's extinguishing fires at the various eleemosynary  
<sup>94</sup>  
 institutions. The state also constructed a two-story brick  
 building on the northwest corner of the Capitol grounds for the  
 fire engine and apparatus; the second floor provided an assembly  
 room for the firemen and citizens generally. The state retained  
 full control of the property as it was built at public expense  
<sup>95</sup>  
 and on state land.

In 1847 the firemen received a fire engine, which was  
 called "as beautiful a piece of machinery as any ever con-  
 structed by the celebrated maker, Mr. John Askew of Philadelphia."

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<sup>91</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1842, 138.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 1852, 130.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 1850, 501-502; 1857, 139.

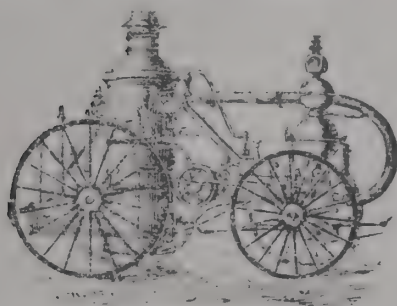
<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 1856, 435; Hinds County Gazette, March 12, 1856.

<sup>95</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1852, 27-28.





♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦  
**Take Notice Firemen!**



There will be a trial of the Steam Fire Engine to-night. March 12, at 7½ o'clock. A full attendance is desired.

Also a meeting of the Company at their Hall, to-morrow night. A full attendance is desired, as business of importance will be brought before the meeting.

By order of Foreman.

A. H. SPENCER, Secretary.

♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦  
**NOTICE.**

**A**LL persons having legitimate claims against "Jackson Fire Co., No. 1," are hereby requested to present them to the Auditor in the City of Jackson before the 1st day of April, 1881.



The "Magnolia" could throw a horizontal stream of water one hundred and sixty feet. On the front was "Flora, holding in her hand a Magnolia"; on the rear was the emblem of "Terror, fleeing from a building on fire, with a flaming torch in her hand." On each side of the gallery were the coat of arms of Mississippi and a "bronzed head of General Jackson." This engine was displayed in the rotunda of the Capitol, so that everyone might examine its beauty and workmanship.

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Another organization included all of the printers employed in the newspaper offices and printing establishments in Jackson. On June 16, 1838, fifteen men formed the Mississippi Typographical Association, drew up a constitution and by-laws, and decided upon uniform rates to be charged by its members. Whenever as many as two printers were hired at an establishment, a man was chosen as "Father of the Chapel" to settle disputes among the workers or between the printers and employer. Strict rules governed the conduct and admission of printers, who were required to obey the constitution, to attend the meetings, to employ union men, and to disclose none of the secrets of the group. The monthly dues were used to compensate unemployed members who were not in arrears for dues or fines. Any person guilty of violating the regulations might be fined, suspended,



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admonished, or expelled.

Jackson had the customary assortment of specialists and business establishments, and a few who claimed to be different. M. Rohsbacker did tailoring, scouring, dyeing, and mending of clothes.<sup>98</sup> Dr. Offutt instructed men in the proper way "of gentling horses."<sup>99</sup> Newcomer and Kausler installed a large mirror, eight feet high and four feet wide, in the back of their dry goods store. This was done so that the ladies could "see themselves as others see them--beautiful, charming and lovely--especially when they were arrayed in some of the new goods" purchased from that firm.<sup>100</sup> Power and Cadwalller said they were prepared to print "everything from a delicate Wedding Card to a Mammoth Poster--from a single page to a stout volume."<sup>101</sup>

Prosperous business conditions encouraged the establishment of several public eating places in Jackson. Hipolite Savalle, a former cook at Delmonico's and other famous restaurants,

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<sup>97</sup> Constitution and By-Laws of the Mississippi Typographical Association of Jackson, Revised and Adopted July 14, 1838 (Jackson, 1839), passim.

<sup>98</sup> Mississippian, March 6, 1840.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., February 1, 1842.

<sup>100</sup> Jackson Daily News, March 29, 1860.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., March 14, 1860.





operated the "Restoral," which was favorably known for its French dishes, imported wines, and choice seafoods.<sup>102</sup> The Tontine Restaurant served "every delicacy in a style unsurpassed" at any hour of the day or night; gentlemen could have meals prepared and taken to their rooms.<sup>103</sup> The Arcade boasted of its "most sumptuous Meals of fresh oysters and other dainties from the seaboard."<sup>104</sup>

Jackson had not only restaurants but also hotels for the accommodation of visitors to the capital. It is said that the first establishment of that kind was the Sycamore Inn, a two-story frame structure with ten rooms, which was located on the site of the present Hinds County Courthouse.<sup>105</sup> During the 1830's many senators and representatives boarded with Mrs. T. B. J. Hadley, who was famous for her excellent meals; however she served "short rations" until the legislators promised to pass the measure granting married women the right to own property.<sup>106</sup> Incidentally, Mississippi was the first state in the Union to extend such legal privilege to women.<sup>107</sup> The Union Hall

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<sup>102</sup> Mississippian, June 24, 1842; Southron, October 18, 1843.

<sup>103</sup> Mississippian, November 18, 1841.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Records of the Pioneer Club.

<sup>106</sup> Biographical and Historical Memoirs, II, 179.

<sup>107</sup> Carl Russell Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850 (New York, 1929), 271.



operated for several years and claimed that it was not "sur-  
 passed by any in the southern country." <sup>108</sup> The Mansion House,  
 most popular during the late 1830's and early 1840's, registered  
 283 guests within one week in April, 1839. <sup>109</sup> The Eagle Hotel,  
 one hundred yards north of the Capitol, did a profitable busi-  
 ness in a forty-room frame building, which was demolished for  
 the erection of a larger hotel in 1854. <sup>110</sup>

The old day book for the Eagle Hotel in 1838 included some  
 interesting entries:

to John S. Gooch	1 days board and dinner for self	\$3.50	
	1 do do servant	2.00	
	2 horses do	5.50	
Robert A. Patrick	2 days board, self and horse	9.00	
	dinner and horse feed	1.75	
Colonel Saunders	1 bottle of Champagne	3.00	
	1/2 dozen cigars	3/	
R. M. Dudley	Madeira Wine	.25	
	keeping horse for 20 days	40.00	
	1 piece tobacco	2/	
M. J. Whitworth	stage fare to Covington	25.00	
R. W. Robinson	cash lent	2.00	
	1 concert ticket	1.00	
George R. Fall	cash for washing	2.75	
	bottle of Madeira	4.00	111

<sup>108</sup> Statesman, August 5, 1843.

<sup>109</sup> Raymond Times, April 19, 1839.

<sup>110</sup> Biographical and Historical Memoirs, II, 175.

<sup>111</sup> Eagle Hotel Day Book, 1838-1841 (MS., Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi).





The Bowman House, "the largest and most commodious hotel" in Mississippi before 1860, was a four-story brick structure with accommodations for three hundred persons and their servants.<sup>112</sup> Its manager paid one hundred dollars for the license to operate for the year 1859.<sup>113</sup> Benjamin L. C. Wailles found the hotel overflowing with people in 1858. "The crowd 'blocaded' the door to the eating hall before every meal and rushed in when the doors were opened like a set of hungry wolves." Wailles was finally placed "in an inconvenient room on the fourth floor." The big commotion was occasioned by the people coming to the sessions of the legislature and the agricultural fair.<sup>114</sup>

James H. Bowman sued the mayor and aldermen of Jackson for \$5,500 damages, because they refused him a license to retail liquors and to operate billiard tables. He erected the expensive hotel with the understanding that he would be the only person in town to have the privilege of selling liquors. The Circuit Court decreed that the city officials had broken the provisions of the contract, but no arrangement was made in regard to the \$5,500.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>Jackson Daily News, April 20, June 11, 1860.

<sup>113</sup>Minutes of the Hinds County Board of Police, 1859.

<sup>114</sup>Sydnor, Wailles, 239, citing Wailles' Diary.

<sup>115</sup>Jackson Daily News, June 26, 1860.







Bowman House



Visitors made interesting comments about the Jackson hotels. F. L. Olmsted wrote that some conveniences were lacking, but he found "the usual 'first-class' regal magnificence, napkins, silver-plated forks and candelabra."<sup>116</sup> Sir Charles Lyell, the English geologist, was pleasantly entertained by conversing with the many lawyers who were attending the court session in Jackson. He described his first meal at the hotel in this manner:

The landlord . . . obtained silence by exclaiming, 'Gentlemen, we are a great people.' and then called out the names of all the viands on his long table and sideboard, beginning with 'Beef-steak, with or without onions, roast turkey, pork, hominy, fish, eggs, &c., and ending with a list of various drinkables, the last of which was 'tea, foreign and domestic.' 117

Lyell tasted but disliked the "domestic tea" made from the sassafras roots.

The hotels accommodated the travelers and temporary residents of Jackson, but each family had its own home. These houses varied with the fads of the times and the finances of the owners; however there were never as many magnificent residences as the planters built near Natchez. In 1840 C. M. Price advertised for sale a new house fifty feet long and eighteen feet

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<sup>116</sup> F. L. Olmsted, A Journey in the Back Country, 159.

<sup>117</sup> Sir Charles Lyell, A Second Visit to the United States of North America, 2 vols. (New York, 1849), II, 160-161.





wide. It was "built of the best materials, and contains four rooms, with fire places in each, with double piazzas. Attached to the building is also a new kitchen, with a double fire place in the centre, and a smoke house, with sufficient place for a cistern." There was ample space for a garden and front yard. <sup>118</sup>

Probably the most expensive Jackson residence in 1850 was built for George S. Yerger. It was a three-story edifice with fifteen rooms, a wide front porch, and heavy Corinthian columns. The walls of the reception rooms were decorated with brightly painted peafowls and birds of paradise. The double parlors had velvet carpets, rosewood furniture upholstered with pale yellow damask, curtains of Brussels net, and draperies of heavy yellow silk lined with white. The white fur rugs and long mirrors added to the splendor of the rooms. Also on the first floor were a billiard room, a conservatory, a library of ancient and modern classics, and a dining room. The latter was lighted by a sparkling chandelier and candelabras. The lawn contained rare plants and flowers, a fountain, and a Moorish summerhouse, which was covered with roses and furnished with white chairs. <sup>119</sup>

Whenever several families live in a community and try to carry on business enterprises, it becomes necessary to have

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<sup>118</sup> Mississippian, May 22, 1840.

<sup>119</sup> Deupree, "Some Historic Homes of Mississippi," in loc. cit., VII (1903), 322-333.





taxes. Some idea of the financial development of Jackson may be gained by comparing the tax receipts. For the year 1841 the treasurer collected \$101.60;<sup>120</sup> two years later the taxes and licenses totaled \$1,963.96;<sup>121</sup> and in 1860 the amount of taxes collected was \$3,137.98.<sup>122</sup> The city also obtained funds from fines and licenses. The tax collector reported in 1860 that the individual taxes ranged from one dollar to one hundred and ninety dollars.<sup>123</sup> On several occasions the legislature allowed the town of Jackson to levy special taxes; for example, in 1854 the mayor and aldermen could raise the tax on real estate one half of one per cent so as to pay the indebtedness of the city.<sup>124</sup> Raymond citizens were most indignant when the national government gave \$20,000 toward the erection of the City Hall in 1855.<sup>125</sup> This was done because the United States wanted a place for the federal offices located in Jackson. The two-story brick City Hall was erected in 1854 upon square number nine, south, which the legislature gave to the town.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Southron, May 9, 1842, quoting the report of the city treasurer.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., December 18, 1843.

<sup>122</sup> Jackson Daily News, April 23, 1860.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1854, 387.

<sup>125</sup> Hinds County Gazette, March 12, 1855.

<sup>126</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1856, 169.



By 1860 Jackson was most prosperous. The state legislature appropriated \$10,000 for repairing the Capitol. Plans were made to erect a new jail and remove the unsightly shanties from the square containing the "magnificent City Hall."<sup>127</sup> The mayor and aldermen provided street lights by contacting with the Jackson Gas Light Company, which was incorporated on February 10, 1860.<sup>128</sup> The contract called for the erection of twenty-five lamp posts within the city limits. For ten dollars additional the company promised to light the lamps at twilight and to extinguish them at daybreak. The city authorities stated that the lamps were not "to be lighted if there was sufficient light from the moon for any part of the night."<sup>129</sup>

There were other towns in the county besides Clinton, Raymond, and Jackson, but these were the most important. People left the train at Terry or Byram when they went from New Orleans to Cooper's Well. Utica in 1858 was considered a prosperous town with attractive churches, several stores, a girls' school, and "moral, intelligent people."<sup>130</sup> Bolton's Depot and Edwards were shipping points for planters between Clinton and Vicksburg.

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<sup>127</sup> Jackson Daily News, March 1, 1860.

<sup>128</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1860, 438-440.

<sup>129</sup> Jackson Daily News, April 10, 1860.

<sup>130</sup> Hinds County Gazette, March 10, 1858.





Brownsville in the northern part of the county had its own local government, a school, fraternal and religious organizations, and prosperous citizens. Other communities, which were never incorporated, included such places as Cayuga, Midway, Palestine, Spring Hill, Society Ridge, Bethesda, and Auburn.

During practically all of the ante-bellum period the inhabitants of Hinds County had difficulty receiving news from other parts of the country. In 1836 one editor wrote that the two-wheel mail carts brought "little else than antiquated newspapers, worn out with long travel, and reeking with mud and water."<sup>131</sup> Conditions were better after the establishment of the railroad between Vicksburg and Jackson, but frequently the trains were stopped on account of heavy rains or accidents. Incompetent postmasters were careless about dispatching the mail to the proper places and sometimes discarded the papers published by political opponents.<sup>132</sup> The United States let contracts for eight regular mail routes for all parts of Hinds County in 1858;<sup>133</sup> thereafter communication facilities were definitely improved.

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<sup>131</sup> Clinton Gazette, February 6, 1836.

<sup>132</sup> Southern Sun, February 15, 1839.

<sup>133</sup> Hinds County Gazette, March 8, 1858.





## CHAPTER V

### SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

During the ante-bellum days the inhabitants of Hinds County represented many social classes with different degrees of wealth. At first most of the citizens belonged to the small farmer group, but during the 1840's and 1850's there was a great increase in the number of planters and professional men. Yet, according to Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "it might be said that the bulk of the farming population of the South were yeomen." The white people often had "the unkempt appearance of the backwoodsman," but the majority of them "enjoyed with the planters a high degree of social and economic security."<sup>1</sup> Little class hatred existed and generally the inhabitants were on friendly terms with each other; probably this was because the planters in Hinds County did not have as expensive homes and furnishings as those

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<sup>1</sup> Frank L. and Harriet C. Owsley, "The Economic Basis of Society in the Late Ante-Bellum South," in Journal of Southern History, VI (1940), 30.



who lived near Natchez. The people of all classes mingled at the public barbecues and political gatherings, but only the more aristocratic class participated in the dances and assemblies at the watering places and hotels.

Many settlers came from Europe bringing with them their distinctive social, cultural, and religious characteristics. The census of 1850 shows that of the total 8,976 white inhabitants in Hinds County eighty-nine persons were born in Ireland, eighty-five in Germany, twenty-nine in Scotland, twelve in England, seven in Italy, nine in France, and others in Poland, Bavaria, Canada, Russia, Holland, Jamaica, and Switzerland.<sup>2</sup>

Clinton was the first town in the county to develop a reputation for its social and cultural advantages; then Raymond, the seat of county government, became recognized as a place inhabited by many refined citizens who sponsored schools, churches, and clubs. Until the middle of the 1830's Jackson was regarded as merely the seat of the state government, and few persons went there except to transact state business or to attend the sessions of the legislature. The construction of the Capitol, the erection of the Governor's Mansion, the establishment of the penitentiary and eleemosynary institutions, and the improvement of transportation were important factors in causing Jackson to become

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<sup>2</sup> Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Hinds County, 1850.





the center of trade and business for central Mississippi. The largest towns in the county in 1860 were Jackson with 3,199 people, Raymond with 558, and Clinton with 289.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that the social, cultural, and religious activities were never as pretentious as in the older, more populous regions.

The roads were better during the summer months, and the people could travel longer distances to the frequent barbecues, political gatherings, and picnics. The annual Fourth of July celebration usually included several long speeches, military parades, and dances as well as the reading of the Declaration of Independence and the proposing of toasts to every conceivable person, thing, and event. On July 4, 1837, the Clinton Guards and the "handsomely equipped and disciplined" Raymond Fencibles paraded at Clinton. The crowd enjoyed "a luxurious repast of barbecued meats, fish and fowl--all the varied vegetables of the season together with a thousand and one et ceteras." In the afternoon the young people assembled in a cool, shady grove and danced to the accompaniment of soft music.<sup>4</sup> All the inhabitants of the county were invited to the celebration in Jackson on July 4, 1860. The parade included the Jackson Brass Band, Jackson Fire and Mose Company, city and state officials,

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<sup>3</sup>Population of the United States, 1860, 271.

<sup>4</sup>Southern Sun, July 15, 1837.





Mississippi Rifle, Mississippi Capital Dragoons, Jackson Typographical Union, Calliopean Debating Society, citizens, and strangers. After the lengthy program at the fair grounds, the events of the day were climaxed by the dance at the Bowman House.<sup>5</sup>

In July, 1840, hundreds of persons from all parts of the state assembled in Jackson to honor General Andrew Jackson, who was met in Vicksburg by a group of prominent Jacksonians. The military companies, wearing their full uniforms, escorted the party from the city limits to the Capitol to be received by Governor A. G. McNutt and his staff. The Capitol was brilliantly illuminated for the occasion and a lantern was placed on the dome; the interior of the building was decorated with all kinds of laurel wreaths, evergreens, and flowers. General Jackson was given a reception at the Governor's Mansion and a grand military and civic ball at Potter's new theater, which was "suitably decorated for the occasion and provided adequate space for dancing and promenading." The pit had been floored over even with the stage so as to accommodate about four hundred ladies and five hundred gentlemen. "Old Hickory" and a committee were "conspicuously seated in a box prepared for them," and the ladies were presented to the distinguished visitor.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Jackson Daily News, July 5, 1860.

<sup>6</sup>Raymond Times, January 10, 21, 1840; Mississippian, January 17, 24, 1840; Jackson Enquirer, January 25, 1840.



On February 21, 1843, the citizens of Mississippi again gathered in Jackson, this time to honor the famous Henry Clay, who arrived by train from Vicksburg. He was escorted by S. S. Prentiss and Colonel W. C. Richards in an open barouche to the Capitol, where he delivered a long address advocating the adoption of a national bank. He was entertained with a reception at the Governor's Mansion and a magnificent ball at one of the hotels. At both of these social functions Clay spent his time "pleasantly exchanging courtesies with friends and our fair country women."<sup>7</sup>

Many fashionable balls were held at the large hotels throughout the ante-bellum days. In September, 1835, the Mansion House entertained in honor of the "birthday of the great and good LAFAYETTE."<sup>8</sup> Five years later the Jacksonians celebrated the birthday of George Washington by having a brilliant ball at the Eagle Hotel. It was scheduled for the twenty-first because the ladies were "so wonderfully tonnish" that they did not assemble for the dances until twelve or one o'clock. The ball room was "tastefully decorated and the supper table set forth an imposing array of delicacies; however the wines and liquors were abominable and of very bad quality."<sup>9</sup> A grand military and

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<sup>7</sup> Mississippian, February 16, 23, 1843.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., September 4, 1835.

<sup>9</sup> Southern Sun, February 25, 1840.





civic ball was given at Potter's theater on January 8, 1841. The pit had been floored over to form a "spacious saloon (sic) capable of containing 2,000 persons." The ladies were admitted free, but the gentlemen were charged five dollars each. Monsieur Savalle prepared the splendid supper and supplied the wines and liquors. Ladies and the volunteer military company from Vicksburg attended this function in Jackson.

The Christmas ball of the same year was planned for weeks in advance; it was surpassed only by the entertainment which was given for Andrew Jackson. The spacious ball room was "tastefully arranged with evergreens and the numerous lights, the witchery of sparkling eyes and spirit—stirring music, the blaze of costly jewelry, rich dresses, waving plumes and graceful forms, which shone in undimmed loveliness, reminded us of scenes told of in oriental story." According to the editor of the Mississippian, the outstanding lady present was the beautiful "Mrs. C.," whose "sylph-like form, her classic face, and proud and graceful bearing elicited general admiration. Her dress was a rich white satin elegantly embroidered, which admirably became her transparent complexion." The lovely "Mrs. P." was described as being "blythe as the morning lark, a good dancer, an agreeable partner, cheerful and witty, her beauty both of

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<sup>10</sup> Mississippian, January 8, 1841.





form and face was questioned by none." "Miss M." was mentioned because of her beautiful dark eyes, which were "full of life and joy, and seemed to 'tell a flattering tale.' She was literally 'run down with beaux.'" <sup>11</sup>

The ladies and gentlemen also enjoyed the races sponsored by the jockey clubs at Raymond, Brownsville, and Jackson. In 1835 four days of races were held near Raymond with the prizes ranging from fifty dollars to three hundred dollars. <sup>12</sup> The organization at Brownsville had several officers for the purpose of rigidly enforcing the rules regarding the riders and the horses competing in the contests. <sup>13</sup> After the completion of the Jackson Race Course, the proprietor estimated that "at least five thousand strangers" would attend the races. <sup>14</sup> The newspapers reported that the first undertaking in Jackson was successful, <sup>15</sup> but no mention was made of the attendance.

Practically every community had some cultural organizations before 1860, and usually the membership was restricted to the men. The K. A. Society of Hippocrates included all the city and

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<sup>11</sup> Mississippian, December 30, 1840.

<sup>12</sup> Clinton Gazette, November 21, 1835.

<sup>13</sup> Southern Sun, March 26, 1839.

<sup>14</sup> Southron, December 13, 1843.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., January 31, 1845.



state officers, lawyers, ministers, and doctors.<sup>16</sup> The Raymond Thespians presented many amateur theatricals, which were considered wholesome entertainments for people of all ages.<sup>17</sup> In Clinton "the lovers of literature and improvement" formed a club for the purpose of promoting "the social and intellectual prosperity" of the town.<sup>18</sup> At a meeting of the Jackson Literary Society, M. R. Dudley delivered "a chaste and scientific lecture on the nature and properties of water."<sup>19</sup> In 1841 "the wisdom and energy of a few, who are the Literati of the town, met to submit works, stories, poems, etc., while they were eating." This select group was known as the Literary Popping Corn and Candy Pulling Society of Raymond.<sup>20</sup> An unsuccessful attempt was made to establish a county-wide library association,<sup>21</sup> but the gentlemen at Clinton furnished a building and subscribed for "many valuable Reviews and magazines, both domestic and foreign."<sup>22</sup> The members of the Bethesda Baptist Church maintained

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<sup>16</sup> Mississippian, March 8, 1839.

<sup>17</sup> Raymond Times, September 13, 1839.

<sup>18</sup> Clinton Gazette, February 25, 1837.

<sup>19</sup> Southron, June 9, 1842.

<sup>20</sup> Raymond Times, February 19, 1841.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., June 21, 1839.

<sup>22</sup> Southern Marksmen, January 8, 1839.





a circulating library from 1846 until 1859.<sup>23</sup>

The citizens of Jackson and the surrounding country had the opportunity of seeing many theatrical performances for about thirty years during the ante-bellum period. The first theater was probably built in the early 1830's on the corner of Capitol and President Streets; the lower floor was said to have contained two bowling alleys eighty feet long.<sup>24</sup> The Corps Dramatique, which appeared in 1836, was the first group of actors to present a series of programs in the capital.<sup>25</sup> About three years later John Potter brought a company that was "far superior in number and ability"; he also provided good scenery and music for the evening entertainments at one dollar per person. Potter advertised that the building was comfortably heated by stoves and that a rigid police was maintained during the performances.<sup>26</sup>

A larger theater was financed by enterprising Jacksonians in 1839; this was considered advisable because the old building had overflowing crowds each night. After several months "the large and splendid edifice was built in the Grecian architecture, having six antaes in front, supporting an entablature and cornice,

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<sup>23</sup> Minutes of the Bethesda Baptist Church, 1846-1860 (MS., in Mississippi College Library, Clinton, Mississippi).

<sup>24</sup> City Hall Register and Record, Jackson, Mississippi (Jackson, 1940), 5.

<sup>25</sup> Mississippian, August 19, 26, 1836.

<sup>26</sup> Tri-Weekly Mississippian, January 12, February 14, 1839.





taken from the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus at Athens." The structure was one hundred and forty feet long and sixty feet wide and had seats enough for ten or twelve hundred individuals. The stage was thirty-two feet across and fifty-eight feet deep; there were also "a large and spacious saloon, two tiers of boxes, a pit, and a gallery."<sup>27</sup> Elaborate ceremonies marked the opening performance in December, 1839,<sup>28</sup> and during that season the newspapers contained frequent comments about the actors and the performances. Among the plays presented were Othello, Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet, Damon and Pythias, Richard III, Richelieu, and innumerable comedies and farces. This new theater was not well patronized, and the poor attendance may be partly explained by the cold weather and muddy roads. Many editorials urged the ladies "to grace the dress circle with their fair faces" because they had a "subduing influence" upon the audience.<sup>29</sup>

Usually the performances were held during the fall, winter, and early spring months as most of the inhabitants spent the summers at the various resorts and watering places. Potter tried to obtain a variety of entertainments besides the dramas. He presented comedians, musicians, minstrels, and concerts; for

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<sup>27</sup> Mississippian, August 16, 1839.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., December 6, 1839.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., January 5, 1844.



example, in 1842 Madame Lucy Fabj, "Prima Donna of the Phil-<sup>30</sup>  
 harmonic Society of London," gave a program in Jackson. Madame  
 Marietta Gazzaniga, "the Prima Donna from the Principal Opera  
 Houses of Europe and the Academy of Music, New York, Philadelphia,<sup>31</sup>  
 Theatre Tacon, Havana," presented "one Grand Concert" in 1860.  
 The "celebrated Cushman" gave a lecture and readings, but a  
 writer stated that the person had little ability and tried to in-  
 fluence his audience by wearing a queer wide collar and flowing  
<sup>32</sup>  
 hair.

Some of the men were members of the Masons and Independent  
 Order of the Odd Fellows. In 1844 the legislature permitted  
 the York Masons in Jackson to erect and maintain a charitable  
<sup>33</sup>  
 school on part of Market Square. The Masons in Raymond  
 actively functioned for many years; they celebrated various  
 occasions with dinners, speeches, and parades; and sometimes  
 they expelled undesirable members and denied them all the  
<sup>34</sup>  
 privileges of the organization. The Naomi Lodge of the Independent  
 Order of the Odd Fellows was incorporated and allowed to hold

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<sup>30</sup> Mississippian, January 4, 1842.

<sup>31</sup> Jackson Daily News, April 17, 1860.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., March 3, 1860.

<sup>33</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1844, 244.

<sup>34</sup> Raymond Times, January 1, May 28, 1841.



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property valued at \$2,000.<sup>35</sup> In 1858 the organization selected trustees to direct the grading, fencing, and maintaining of a cemetery in Raymond.<sup>36</sup>

Many temperance societies were organized in Hinds County as well as in other parts of the South during the 1840's and 1850's; however the enthusiasm fluctuated from time to time. In 1842 Raymond boasted that a drunken man was seldom seen on the streets and that all except two or three persons had reformed.<sup>37</sup> The editor of the Southron stated that the temperance movement would never be successful until something was done to improve the idleness and ignorance of boys between the ages of six and sixteen. He suggested the confiscation of all Faro banks, roulette wheels, "chuck-a luck games," and gambling devices. He also advocated the establishment of public schools<sup>38</sup> and the enforcement of existing laws.

Organized divisions of the Sons of Temperance held regular meetings at Jackson, Brownsville, Cayuga, Line Store,<sup>39</sup> Palestine, Utica, and Raymond. These societies sent petitions to the legislature requesting the prohibition of intoxicating liquors; as the result of similar movements in all parts of the

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<sup>35</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1846, 375-376.

<sup>36</sup> Hinds County Gazette, March 24, 1858.

<sup>37</sup> Southron, April 21, May 12, 1842.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., February 21, 1844.

<sup>39</sup> Raymond Fencible, September 12, 1849.





state, the legislators authorized the boards of police to issue<sup>40</sup> no more licenses to retail liquor. Evidently the voters disapproved of this action because the law was repealed two years later; thereafter each township determined whether or not vinous and spirituous drinks might be sold within its limits. Many communities prohibited the liquor stores by a large majority, but the legislature passed so many different local laws during the 1840's and 1850's that it is impossible to determine the success of these temperance crusades. At some time practically every community had a law similar to the one which prohibited the sale of any vinous or spirituous liquors within five miles<sup>41</sup> of Brownsville after October, 1852.

In addition to the above mentioned organizations, there was the inevitable militia. The Clinton Guards were established in 1836 and within a few months they were commended for their beautiful uniforms, the "variety of military evolutions," and their proficiency in military tactics.<sup>42</sup> The Raymond Fencibles were described as "a well drilled, handsome and brave little corps, --well versed in military tactics and exceedingly<sup>43</sup> patriotic." The soldier-like white uniforms added to the

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<sup>40</sup> Law of Mississippi, 1854, 382-384.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 1852, 157-159.

<sup>42</sup> Clinton Gazette, December 26, 1836.

<sup>43</sup> Southern Sun, April 23, 1839; Raymond Times, April 26, 1839.



splendor of the parades;<sup>44</sup> each member spent about fifty dollars for his uniform and arms.<sup>45</sup> The number and membership frequently changed in these organizations, which were more social than military in their nature. In 1860 there were 442 men in the Mississippi Rifles, Raymond Fencibles, Mississippi College Rifles, Jackson Boys, Burt Rifles, Brown Rebels, and Hinds<sup>46</sup> Light Guards.

The Mississippi Rifles in Jackson attracted much favorable attention by their uniforms and equipment. They carried a United States flag presented by the ladies of the town, and later they used the flag and weapons with which the Mississippi Regiment fought during the Mexican War. On one occasion they paraded in New Orleans and were commended for "their manly appearance,<sup>47</sup> neat uniforms, and soldierly bearing." The uniform was described as follows:

Dark blue cloth, frock coat, double breasted, one row of buttons, red epaulettes, collar and sleeves trimmed with red tape. Pants, red stripe, one inch wide. Black hats, right side looped up with a brass eagle, a bugle, and the letters M. R. in front. 48

<sup>44</sup> Raymond Times, July 12, 1839.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., December 13, 1839.

<sup>46</sup> Senate Journal, 1860, Appendix, 120.

<sup>47</sup> Jackson Daily News, April 16, 1860, quoting New Orleans Delta.

<sup>48</sup> Charles Rietti, History of the Mississippi Rifles (Jackson, n.d.), 5.





Southern men have always been interested in politics, and during the ante-bellum days the political clubs were a form of social enjoyment for the members. The political parties were more active in the national presidential elections than in the local elections, because the state, county, and town candidates were usually elected on the basis of their personalities. The newspapers were almost invariably partisan and championed some particular candidate; for example, James Fall edited the Old Soldier for the purpose of advancing the campaign of Martin Van Buren in 1840. Fall tried to expose "the pretensions of Federal Whiggery" and urged all voters to ignore the "senseless noise and mummary, such as the HARD CIDER and LOG CABIN humbug."<sup>49</sup> In 1843 W. M. Smyth published the Southern Reformer to<sup>50</sup> advocate the candidacy and doctrines of John C. Calhoun.

The presidential campaign in 1840 found many Whigs in the county, who organized Tippecanoe Clubs at Raymond, Jackson, Brownsville, and Clinton. The Whigs at Jackson erected a log-cabin club house and decorated the walls with pictures of American statesmen, pennants, flags, widespread deer antlers, and a horseshoe over the door.<sup>51</sup> An article in the Comet described

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<sup>49</sup> Mississippian, July 17, 1840.

<sup>50</sup> Southron, May 10, 1843.

<sup>51</sup> Southern Sun, May 19, 1840.





the activities in Jackson as follows:

It is amusing to see the ruffled shirted bank dandies and would-be aristocrats going to the humbug conventions in wagons and carts with sifters, gourds, trays, tin cups, &c., hanging about them as evidence of their being hardworking farmers and mechanics. Poor fellows how they grumbled about the colds they caught camping out and living on rough fare for awhile. They are not used to it. That's plain and the people can understand their demagoging. 52

The Whigs at Raymond adopted resolutions highly praising the virtues of William Henry Harrison and strongly endorsing the other party candidates. They contributed materials and labor for the construction of a log cabin in which to hold their meetings. The leaders included Major John B. Peyton, Thomas Dabney, James Deupree, N. Greene North, Amos R. Johnston, and A. L. Dabney. These men tried "by laborious exertion and un-sleeping vigilance, to aid the great work of reform." Money was contributed to publish the Snag Boat from June 13, 1840, until the election in November; Whigs throughout the state were expected to subscribe to this paper for the advancement of the party. 53

The Whigs at Clinton joined with the organization at Raymond, and on one occasion the group arrived in "a neat and appropriate

<sup>52</sup> Comet, October 16, 1840.

<sup>53</sup> Raymond Times, June 5, 19, 1840.

It is interesting to see the different opinions  
and theories and methods and systems which  
are being developed in the various countries  
of the world, Europe, America, Asia, Africa,  
Australia, and the South Seas. It is  
interesting to see the different theories and  
methods and systems which are being developed  
in the various countries of the world. It is  
interesting to see the different theories and  
methods and systems which are being developed  
in the various countries of the world.

The first of these is the theory of the  
evolution of the human mind. This theory  
is based on the idea that the human mind  
is a product of the environment and that  
it is constantly changing and developing.

The second of these is the theory of the  
evolution of the human body. This theory  
is based on the idea that the human body  
is a product of the environment and that  
it is constantly changing and developing.

The third of these is the theory of the  
evolution of the human soul. This theory  
is based on the idea that the human soul  
is a product of the environment and that  
it is constantly changing and developing.

The fourth of these is the theory of the  
evolution of the human spirit. This theory  
is based on the idea that the human spirit  
is a product of the environment and that  
it is constantly changing and developing.

The fifth of these is the theory of the  
evolution of the human mind, body, soul,  
and spirit. This theory is based on the  
idea that the human mind, body, soul, and  
spirit are all products of the environment  
and that they are all constantly changing  
and developing.

The sixth of these is the theory of the  
evolution of the human mind, body, soul,  
and spirit. This theory is based on the  
idea that the human mind, body, soul, and  
spirit are all products of the environment  
and that they are all constantly changing  
and developing.

The seventh of these is the theory of the  
evolution of the human mind, body, soul,  
and spirit. This theory is based on the  
idea that the human mind, body, soul, and  
spirit are all products of the environment  
and that they are all constantly changing  
and developing.

The eighth of these is the theory of the  
evolution of the human mind, body, soul,  
and spirit. This theory is based on the  
idea that the human mind, body, soul, and  
spirit are all products of the environment  
and that they are all constantly changing  
and developing.

The ninth of these is the theory of the  
evolution of the human mind, body, soul,  
and spirit. This theory is based on the  
idea that the human mind, body, soul, and  
spirit are all products of the environment  
and that they are all constantly changing  
and developing.

log cabin, drawn by horses--decorated with appropriate trophies of the chase--and containing within its walls a bona fide<sup>54</sup> barrel of hard cider." Some of the citizens tried to campaign for Martin Van Buren, but they were neither as active nor as influential. The final returns for Hinds County gave Harrison<sup>55</sup> 1,207 votes and Van Buren only 658.

Although political gatherings always provided entertainment for the Southerners, some were more interesting than others. The debate between Governor A. G. McNutt and Henry S. Foote attracted special attention and was described as the "richest treat--in the shape of fun and frolic--the Whigs had enjoyed for a long time." According to the editor of the Raymond Gazette the debate was "a dog eat dog affair between two loco-<sup>56</sup>foo aspirants for the Senate." During another political gathering, at the Raymond Courthouse, Governor A. G. Brown occupied a prominent seat on the platform. An editorial severely reprimanded him for "unceremoniously puffing his cigar smoke in the faces of all the honest sovereigns in his vicinity." It was said that even a stage driver would have known that the courthouse was not "a groggery and that the citizens were not

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<sup>54</sup>Raymond Times, June 19, 1840, quoting the Snag Boat.

<sup>55</sup>Comet, November 6, 1840.

<sup>56</sup>Raymond Gazette, September 26, 1845.





fire, ashes, and smoke proof."<sup>57</sup>

In 1855 the Native-American party outnumbered both the Whigs and the Democrats in Hinds County. On one occasion about 2,500 men and women assembled in Raymond to listen for hours while Judge William L. Sharkey explained the party principles and ideals.<sup>58</sup> There seems to have been little emphasis upon the questions of immigration and religion, but as Carl Wittke suggests, it was probably the intermediate step by which the Whigs became Democrats.<sup>59</sup> One of the editors described the movement in Hinds County as the "spontaneous uprising of the honest people--the yeomanry of the land--men and women who love Liberty and Union."<sup>60</sup> The returns in November, 1856, showed that 1,122 persons voted for Millard Fillmore and only 751<sup>61</sup> for James Buchanan.

It has been said that a democratic government should have free educational advantages for all of the citizens, but there were few public schools in Hinds County before 1850. In the early days the families lived far apart and there were insufficient funds for such purposes. The planters hired tutors and governess-

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<sup>57</sup> Raymond Gazette, August 29, 1845.

<sup>58</sup> Hinds County Gazette, August 1, 1856.

<sup>59</sup> Carl Wittke, We Who Built America, the Saga of the Immigrant (New York, 1939), 490.

<sup>60</sup> Hinds County Gazette, August 1, 1856.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., November 26, 1856.





es to instruct the young children in their homes, and many of the older boys and girls attended the boarding academies. Sometimes the more aristocratic planters sent their sons to be educated in the East at such schools as William and Mary or the University of Virginia.

In 1835 a young graduate of the University of Virginia advertised for employment as a tutor or instructor in a private academy. He promised to furnish excellent testimonials as to his character, teaching ability, and other qualifications. He claimed that he could teach "the Latin and Greek languages, together with the Literature and Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans, Algebra, Geometry, Surveying, Conic Sections, Integral and Differential Calculi, Astronomy, Trigonometry, Navigation, Projections, the various branches of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mental and Moral Philosophy, &c., &c."<sup>62</sup>

Sometime later a young lady, with several years of teaching experience, advertised for a position as instructor of all the branches of a liberal English education. She could also give lessons in "perspective drawing, oriental and velvet painting, the making of wax flowers and fruits, and many other female accomplishments."<sup>63</sup> These typical female subjects were criticized by the editor of the Southron, who predicted that the number of

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<sup>62</sup> Mississippiian, September 4, 1835.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., July 8, 1843.



bachelors would greatly increase unless there was a change in the education of girls. He advocated the teaching of common sense instead of "broken French," some useful employment instead of how to sing and play musical instruments, and honest industry instead of "silly cox-combery."<sup>64</sup>

Innumerable private schools and academies were started in Hinds County before 1860, but little accurate information is available about them. Some prosperous schools were frequently discussed by the editors, and others continued an advertisement for weeks without ever actually operating. The name of a school was often changed although it had the same instructors and location. The teachers moved from town to town and stayed only as long as everything was entirely satisfactory. It seems that each school was conducted according to the knowledge and whims of the teachers.

Clinton was the first community to develop educational facilities in Hinds County; several academies were started during the 1820's. It was estimated that approximately two hundred and fifty girls annually attended the school taught by Mrs. Caroline Thayer in the early 1830's.<sup>65</sup> The students at the Clinton Female Academy were trained by Mrs. Thayer to be "ornaments to society, on account of their superior education and

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<sup>64</sup> Southron, November 15, 1843.

<sup>65</sup> Brough, "Historic Clinton," in loc. cit., 295.



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...and others continued as ...  
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...although it had the same ...  
...The teachers were from ...  
...was entirely satisfactory. It ...  
...was conducted according to the ...  
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...annually attended the school ...  
...to the early 1900's. The ...  
...were trained by Mrs. ...  
...on account of their superior ...

November 10, 1945

"Historic Clinton," in ...

accomplishments."<sup>66</sup> Daniel Comfort, a graduate of Princeton and a Presbyterian minister, was probably the most outstanding and influential teacher not only at Clinton but also in Hinds County in the middle of the nineteenth century. He served as President of Mississippi College and later taught hundreds of boys and girls in different private schools. He allowed no person to be turned away for lack of tuition fees. Comfort was described as a refined, intelligent, and sympathetic individual, whose name was "the synonym of all that is truly great and good in human nature." On his seventy-fifth birthday many former students gathered to pay him tribute and to present him with an attractive home in Clinton.<sup>67</sup>

For at least nine years Mr. and Mrs. Philip Werlein taught the usual branches of female education, vocal and instrumental music, and "Philosophical and Chemical Lectures, practically illustrated with apparatus."<sup>68</sup> New courses were added as the faculty was increased; for example, Monsieur D'Asbrand of France had classes in conversational French, German, and Spanish.<sup>69</sup> A few obedient and studious girls were boarded in the

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<sup>66</sup> Mississippian, August 19, 1836.

<sup>67</sup> Brough, "Historic Clinton," in loc. cit., 294-295; "The Town of Clinton," in Hinds County Gazette, June 2, 1875.

<sup>68</sup> Hinds County Gazette, September 6, 1849.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., January 4, 1850; September 26, 1852.





eighteen-room building of the Mount Salus Female Academy.<sup>70</sup> In 1852 the faculty was praised for the elaborate and unusual May Day celebration held at night; the grounds were brightly lighted for the gaily dressed guests to witness the spectacular program, which resembled the "fairy enchantments and mysterious displays of other worlds."<sup>71</sup>

In 1853 the Werleins sold their school to the Bishop William M. Green for \$1,500, and the Episcopal Diocese of Mississippi approved its adoption as a denominational institution. The Reverend W.H. Weller and five assistants opened the school with sixty-five students on October 1, 1853.<sup>72</sup> Bishop Green expressed "unlimited confidence in the ability and faithfulness of the faculty," and he urged all parents to send their daughters there for training "in sound learning, pure morals, and true religion."<sup>73</sup>

The same month the Central Baptist Association decided to establish a school for girls at Clinton to give "a thorough and extended education properly adapted to their sphere of in-

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<sup>70</sup> Hinds County Gazette, August 29, 1859.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., May 6, 1852.

<sup>72</sup> Journal of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Mississippi (Natchez, 1854), 52, 73. Hereinafter this series is cited as the Episcopal Journal.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 32.



fluence."<sup>74</sup> On February 2, 1854, the Central Female Institute was incorporated by the legislature, and the trustees were permitted to hold property worth \$20,000.<sup>75</sup> Plans were made to spend \$60,000 for improvements, but the total valuation of all the buildings and grounds was only \$4,000 in 1860.<sup>76</sup> Dr. Martin W. Philips and the other trustees purchased a large residence for school use until the new buildings were constructed. During the session of 1856-1857, seventy-three of the total student body of one hundred and nine girls boarded in the dormitory. At the close of that term, seven young ladies were given diplomas.<sup>77</sup> The largest enrollment before 1860 was reached in 1859, when there were 169 students.<sup>78</sup>

The boarding schools during the ante-bellum period had many regulations for the students. Those at the Central Female Institute were typical of the girls' schools throughout the

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<sup>74</sup> Z. T. Leavell and T. J. Bailey, A Complete History of Mississippi Baptists, from the Earliest Times, 2 vols. (Jackson, 1904), 1254-1255; L. S. Foster, Mississippi Baptist Preachers (St. Louis, 1896), 225-226.

<sup>75</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1854, 238-239.

<sup>76</sup> Mrs. I. M. E. Blandin, History of Higher Education of Women in the South Prior to 1860 (New York and Washington, 1909), 202; Edward Mayes, History of Education in Mississippi (Washington, 1899), 99-100.

<sup>77</sup> Brough, "Historic Clinton," in loc. cit., 303-304.

<sup>78</sup> Mayes, History of Education in Mississippi, 100; Blandin, History of Higher Education for Women in the South Prior to 1860, 202.



The first of these is the fact that the number of students in the program has increased from 100 in 1960 to 150 in 1961. This is a significant increase, especially in view of the fact that the program was only 10 years old in 1960. The second factor is the fact that the program has been able to attract a large number of students from other countries. This is a result of the fact that the program has been able to provide a high quality of education at a relatively low cost. The third factor is the fact that the program has been able to provide a wide range of courses. This has allowed students to pursue a variety of interests and has made the program more attractive to a larger number of students. The fourth factor is the fact that the program has been able to provide a high level of academic achievement. This is a result of the fact that the program has been able to attract and retain a high level of faculty and has been able to provide a high level of academic support for its students. The fifth factor is the fact that the program has been able to provide a high level of student satisfaction. This is a result of the fact that the program has been able to provide a high level of academic achievement and has been able to provide a high level of student support.

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South. Some of them were as follows:

The Boarders are allowed to spend no more than fifty cents per month from their pocket money.

Any young lady Dipping Snuff or bringing Snuff into the Institute is liable to instant expulsion.

To promote habits of economy and simplicity, a Uniform Dress is prescribed. For winter it is a Dark Green Worsted. Of this fabric each young lady should have three Dresses, with three sacks of the same--one of the Sacks to be large and wadded. For summer, each Pupil should have two Pink Calico, two Pink Gingham or Muslin, and two Common White Dresses with one plain Swiss Muslin.

Bonnets--One of Straw; in winter trimmed with dark Green Lustring ribbon, plain and Solid Color; in summer, trimmed with Pink Lustring, plain Solid Color only with Cape and Strings--may be lined with Pink only--no flowers or tabs. 79

Raymond was another community in Hinds County which developed elementary schools before 1830 and had a large number of private academies before 1860. Raymond Robinson donated land for the benefit of Hamstead Academy prior to its incorporation by the legislature in December, 1830.<sup>80</sup> Six years later this<sup>81</sup> became the Raymond Academy, which was subsequently divided into<sup>82</sup> Raymond Male Academy and the Raymond Female Academy. The

<sup>79</sup> Catalogue of Central Female Institute, 1854 (Jackson, 1854), 9, 11, 19.

<sup>80</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1830, 42.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 1836, 395.

<sup>82</sup> Raymond Times, November 3, 1837.

and of the same nature as follows:

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Masonic Institute under A. A. Shirmer, a graduate of a Berlin university, attempted to develop the mental and moral phases of boys as well as teach "a polished and durable education." <sup>83</sup> The Raymond Male High School advocated a mild and parental discipline so as to promote the happiness of both the teacher and the

<sup>84</sup> pupils. An unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain funds for the purpose of buying uniforms and equipment for military training at that institution. <sup>85</sup> Probably the most prosperous girls' school was conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Hannum from 1849 to 1853. They adapted the subjects "to the mental and moral training of the young ladies in the elementary, preparatory, and <sup>86</sup> academic departments." The Hannums also "paid strict attention <sup>87</sup> to the manners, conversation, habits, and progress in study."

As the state capital increased in population, it became necessary to establish many private schools and academies for the instruction of the children. Some of these were not patronized well enough to continue operation for very long, and others lasted for several years. Miss Silphronia Roscoe of Nashville, assisted by Monsieur and Madame Villeplait of Paris, France,

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<sup>83</sup> Hinds County Gazette, February 19, 1852.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., January 28, 1857.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., March 3, 18, 1858.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., September 6, 1858.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., August 8, 1850.



had a girls' school about a mile north of Jackson.<sup>88</sup> Francis S. Lev. Gore, Master of Arts of Trinity College, Dublin, and member of the Royal Irish Academy, taught the Classical, Mathematical, and English School for Boys.<sup>89</sup> The Reverend Amos Cleaver, an Episcopal minister, maintained a school on the corner of Capitol and West Streets for several years before his death during the yellow fever epidemic. Bishop Green commented upon the fidelity with which the girls were "instructed and trained morally and intellectually."<sup>90</sup> Another minister, the Reverend James MacLennan, boarded twenty young ladies in his home and instructed them "in all branches of a thoroughly classical, useful and polite education." He promised to treat his pupils "as social, moral and eternal beings; an enlightened Christian and parental discipline and government will always be exercised over them."<sup>91</sup> Evidently his experiment did not prove successful, as there were no later advertisements of the school.

There were many reasons for the failure of the private schools, but probably the most important was the lack of financial support. M. H. Dudley of the Jackson Male and Female Academy published the following:

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<sup>88</sup> Southron, September 8, 1842; Mississippian, January 6, 1843.

<sup>89</sup> Mississippian, January 1, 1841.

<sup>90</sup> Episcopal Journal, 1848, 11.





The undersigned (M.R.Dudley) is thankful for the pay he has received from three of his patrons for this year's labor; and also for the good intentions of those who intend to pay. To avoid future trouble of dunning and the dread of starvation, the small item of tuition will be demanded monthly in advance. Stern necessity urges to this course and she must be obeyed. 92

The Mississippi Military Institute was located at Mississippi Springs for one session before it was moved to Fairchild's Well. The trustees contemplated spending \$5,000 for improvement, but only part of the buildings were completed. Colonel C. H. Goldsborough and five assistants taught military tactics, the classics, mathematics, and general education. The uniforms, discipline, and textbooks were the same as those used at the United States Military Academy, of which Goldsborough was a graduate. In 1849 the enrollment included from forty-five to fifty boys between the ages of ten and twenty years. Each cadet was required to bring these items: trunk, clothes bag, six shirts, six pairs of socks, three pairs of drawers, two black stocks, two pairs of high quartered shoes, one tin tumbler, fine tooth comb, mirror, one tooth brush, hair brush, and shoe blacking. For a short time everything was most satisfactory and profitable, but for some reason Goldsborough proved incompetent and resigned. The trustees did not secure a capable military instructor; there-

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<sup>92</sup>Southron, June 23, 1842.





fore only literary subjects were taught during the term in  
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 1850.

In all sections of Hinds County there were boarding schools and academies. Some of these were: Moffat Institute, Chapel Hill Male and Female Seminary, Utica Female Institute, Spring Ridge Female Seminary, Midway Seminary, Midway Male and Female College, and Palestine School. Several were primarily for the instruction of the children in the local community and no provisions were made for boarding students. Usually the close of each session was marked by the public examination of the pupils before an audience of parents and friends. Frequent programs and concerts were also given by the students. In many instances the boarding pupils had to pay additional fees for lights, fuel, and feather beds; sometimes they even brought their own furniture.

Cayuga Academy was maintained as both a public and a private school between 1837 and 1860; it was first incorporated in 1839, and the trustees were authorized to use the sixteenth  
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 section lands for that purpose. Although the institution was co-educational, it was considered a most flagrant violation of the rules for any boy to visit the section reserved for the girls. Weekly reports were sent to the parents and guardians.

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<sup>93</sup> Hinds County Gazette, July 6, September 6, 1849.

<sup>94</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1839, 201.



Each student was expected to "behave in a decent and becoming manner in the presence of his associates." Profanity was regarded as "not only unbecoming but also vulgar," and the user of it was punished. The trustees decided the penalties for all serious offenses, and they expressly prohibited the boys from injuring public property, attending "places of gaming and lippling (sic)," visiting the race tracks, and leaving school during the recess periods. The teachers were admonished to "exercise the soundest discretion in the use of the rod" although they were permitted to "give six stripes and not more than twelve for any single offense." The trustees regularly visited the class rooms to inspect the methods of instruction; sometimes they experienced such difficulty securing competent instructors. <sup>95</sup>

Besides the many private schools and academies there were individuals who offered lessons in music and dancing. For example, J. Thuer, "late Professor of Music and Organist of Christ Church, Norfolk, Virginia," taught piano and conducted "a Singing Class of Ladies and Gentlemen for the improvement of sacred music." <sup>96</sup> A. H. Affleck instructed Jacksonians in the playing <sup>97</sup> of the piano, guitar, flute, clarinet, violin, and violoncello. R. Williams from Virginia instructed the public in the latest

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<sup>95</sup> Minutes of the Trustees of Cayuga Academy, 1837-1860 (MSS., in Hinds County Courthouse, Raymond, Mississippi).

<sup>96</sup> Mississippian, January 10, 1841.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., April 22, 1842.



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dance steps of the cotillion, Spanish Hop, German Quadrille, Gallopade Waltz, and other fashionable dances. Musical accompaniment was always an important part of dancing; therefore Jim Owen advertised that he could play all the latest tunes for the waltzes, mazourkas, redowas, cotillions, and other fancy dances.<sup>98</sup>

Special instruction was also available for penmanship and bookkeeping. A man from New Orleans promised to teach any person from seven to sixty "to write with ease, elegance, and rapidity, any style their fancy may select or their business demand."<sup>99</sup> D. Palmer offered to teach "a beautiful, bold, free and expeditious style of writing for keeping ledgers" and a "neat and most approved Ladies hand for Albums, Epistolary Correspondence, &c." He assured the public he could work a miracle within only twelve lessons; "the most illegible or cramped scrawl, however defective, will be reformed into a style at once free, bold and expeditious."<sup>100</sup> Joseph Phillipp of Jackson prepared a pamphlet entitled Self-Instruction in the Art of Book-Keeping by Double Entry; this was published by the True Witness Book and Job

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<sup>98</sup> Southron, February 14, 1844.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., December 22, 1846.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., December 14, 1846.

<sup>101</sup> Mississippian, August 26, 1842.





Office in Jackson in 1856.<sup>102</sup> The Raymond Male High School offered a special course in bookkeeping by a former instructor in a commercial college.<sup>103</sup>

Although there were many private schools and instructors for those who were able to pay the tuition fees, little provision was made for the education of the poor children. The legislature created the Literary Fund in 1821 for that purpose,<sup>104</sup> and for a few years each free white poll was required to pay into that fund the equivalent of one-sixth of the state tax. In 1822 the citizens of Hinds County paid \$63.30 into the Literary Fund.<sup>105</sup>

The Literary Fund was distributed by the county school commissioners, who judged the need of the children, sent them to the most accessible school, and purchased their books and necessary supplies. They appointed a committee to visit all the schools and to investigate the work done by the teachers. After some years the money in the Literary Fund was put into Planters Bank stock; its failure caused the schools of Hinds County to lose \$3,300.<sup>106</sup> This was partially remedied when the legislature

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<sup>102</sup>Charles Heartman, "Mississippi Copyright Entries, 1850-1870," in Journal of Mississippi History, II (1940), 86.

<sup>103</sup>Hinds County Gazette, January 28, 1857.

<sup>104</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1821, 37-44.

<sup>105</sup>Tax Rolls of Hinds County, 1822.

<sup>106</sup>Laws of Mississippi, 1833, 460-461.

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granted money for the female schools at Clinton, Raymond, and Cayuga.<sup>107</sup> Jackson did not receive any of the county funds because it was allotted the revenue from certain licenses to retail vinous and spirituous liquors.<sup>108</sup>

The schools of Hinds County were operated on the basis of the townships except from 1846 to 1850. This system of township control meant that all school affairs were regulated by five trustees annually elected by the eligible voters who were also the heads of families. The teachers were paid according to the number of pupils actually attending school during the term. Schools were established for every twenty resident white children between the ages of six and twenty years.<sup>109</sup> The trustees had full power to lease all sixteenth section lands and to use the proceeds for the benefit of the schools; however there was no penalty for the trustees' failure to administer the funds properly.<sup>110</sup> In 1845 one township in Hinds County reported that the rental from the sixteenth section lands yielded \$5,231.12 of the total school fund of \$6,362.33, which maintained two schools.<sup>111</sup> Sometimes there were not adequate public resources for the maintenance of these township schools; therefore the children paid

<sup>107</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1839, 38-40.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 1846, 105.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 1829, 13.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 1833, 452-454.

<sup>111</sup> Senate Journal, 1846, 50.





tuition fees or the property holders were assessed a special school tax.

As early as 1802 some of the leaders in Mississippi had favored a public school system, but no law was enacted until many years later. During the gubernatorial campaign in 1843, Albert Gallatin Brown strongly advocated the creation of such a system at state expense.<sup>112</sup> Governor Brown suggested using for this purpose the money obtained from fines, forfeitures, and licenses; finally most of these ideas were incorporated into a law establishing a common school system for the state. The act, approved on March 4, 1846, concentrated the control of school matters in the hands of commissioners, who employed the teachers,<sup>113</sup> designated the common schools, and distributed all funds. One clause provided that the voters in each township could levy a special school tax. There was considerable opposition to the provisions of this act, and Hinds was one of the few counties to<sup>114</sup> establish any schools according to its regulations.

Another system was devised in 1848 for Hinds and six other counties in Mississippi.<sup>115</sup> The schools were placed under the

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<sup>112</sup> M. W. Cluskey, Speeches, Messages, and Other Writings of A. G. Brown: A Senator from the State of Mississippi (Philadelphia, 1859), 54.

<sup>113</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1846, 98-104.

<sup>114</sup> House Journal, 1848, 1030-1036.

<sup>115</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1848, 185-196.

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direction of a county superintendent, who had authority to examine and to license all of the teachers. He was required to visit each school at least once every three months and write a full report of conditions existing throughout the county. Teachers were also required to keep detailed records of the children, their parents, attendance, ages, and educational progress. A separate school was created for every twenty resident white children between the ages of six and twenty years. The county funds were distributed on the basis of actual pupil attendance at each school.

The Hinds County Board of Police appointed the Reverend<sup>116</sup> A. Newton as the first county superintendent of schools. His report in 1849 showed that the county contained 2,540 educable children, but there were only 1,361 enrolled in the forty-seven public and eleven private schools. The total county fund amounted to \$4,876.34, which meant that approximately \$3.60 per<sup>117</sup> school year was available for each child in actual attendance. The townships with sixteenth section lands did not receive a part of the common fund.

Newton explained that about five hundred persons under twenty years of age were gainfully employed, and many parents did not feel that their children needed a formal education. Fre-

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<sup>116</sup> Raymond Gazette, May 11, 1849.

<sup>117</sup> House Journal, 1850, 158-159.



quently patrons disagreed as to the location of the school building, and as a result none would be established. The census for 1860 listed a total of 1,873 white children enrolled in the twenty-eight public schools, five private academies, and one college.<sup>118</sup>

Hinds County returned to the township basis for its school after two years,<sup>119</sup> but practically all of the provisions of the previous system were retained except that the schools were regulated by five trustees annually elected in each township. A tax of twenty-five per cent of the state tax was levied on all taxable property and taxable persons for the general school fund. Only fifteen children were then necessary for the establishment of a school and fractional townships were allowed to create schools or several parts of different townships might combine for that purpose.

Teachers were forced to keep full records relative to the children and their attendance, because that was the basis for the distribution of the county funds. For example, W. H. Hampton at the Masonic Institute received \$281.10 on June 21, 1854, and G. E. Beauchamp at the Raymond Female Institute was paid \$238.81. On June 6, 1856, the trustees paid the following quarterly

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<sup>118</sup> Seventh Census of the United States, 1860, 450-453.

<sup>119</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1860, 133-141.





amounts: Miss McClellan, \$27; A. B. Swanson, \$81.84; R. D. Lawson, \$61.15. Three years later the trustees distributed \$674.87 among nineteen teachers. No person was allowed more than two-thirds of his salary until all records were properly arranged and filed with the school trustees as part of their permanent archives.  
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Superintendent Newton expressed his disappointment "in the number of competent and faithful teachers" employed in the county system. Occasionally these instructors of the public and private schools met at Clinton, Jackson, or Raymond. He considered these gatherings as most beneficial because they were a "means of mutual improvement, devising and suggesting the best methods of communicating instruction, uniformity of text books, and the management of schools." Newton also thought that the meetings resulted "in incalculable good to teachers, pupils, and the community at large."  
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The state assisted the town of Jackson to establish its first free school for boys and girls; on the original map of the capital several lots were reserved for educational purposes. In 1846 the legislature deeded to the mayor and aldermen the following: College Square number one and two; College Green; the six

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<sup>120</sup> Minutes of the School Trustees of Township 5, Range 2, West, 1833-1859; *Ibid.*, Township 3, Range 2, West, 1848-1860 (MSS., in Hinds County Courthouse, Raymond, Mississippi).

<sup>121</sup> House Journal, 1850, 162.





unsold lots in Court Square, number two, south; lots number five and six in square number five, south; and lot number four in square number six, south.<sup>122</sup>

Trustees were designated to sell these lots and use the proceeds to erect "two substantial brick houses of sufficient size to accommodate at least fifty pupils in each"; the schools were to be known as the Jackson Male Academy and the Jackson Female Academy.

It may be said that the town really had a public school as early as 1845, because a few boys were given free instruction in the preparatory department of the College in Jackson.<sup>123</sup> On March 12, 1847, the editor of the Southron stated that the town had sufficient funds to educate all of the children within the city limits. Each pupil was required to furnish his own books and to pay an annual fee of three dollars for incidentals. Three teachers were employed the first session. The textbooks included McGuffey's Eclectic Readers, geography, intellectual arithmetic, Goodrich's Pictorial Histories of the United States, England, Greece, Rome, and France, and Root's Pennmanship.<sup>124</sup>

The trustees invited all citizens to attend the closing exercises at the City Hall on August 3-4, 1847.<sup>125</sup> It was said

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<sup>122</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1846, 359-361.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 419.

<sup>124</sup> Southron, March 12, 1847.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., July 30, 1847.



that the first session included children from the highways and by-ways, many of whom had never had educational opportunities. The editor of the Southron remarked that Phineas Cook had "stubborn material to deal with, but many of the boys distinguished themselves during the public examinations." The exercises were described as "a scene of novelty and profound interest, and resulted in heartfelt and cheering satisfaction to our citizens."<sup>126</sup>

The school was most favorably received by the citizens, and by May, 1849, there was a total enrollment of two hundred students.<sup>127</sup> The following year the mayor and aldermen were authorized to sell "the north half of Court square number one, and the lot or parcel of land called Court Green." The proceeds were to be used for the erection of a suitable building for the overcrowded classes, and it would also provide an adequate auditorium for the programs given by the students.<sup>128</sup>

In 1860 the capital had a public school and eight private academies for the instruction of boys and girls. On March 2, 1860, the mayor and aldermen paid the following quarterly salaries to teachers in the Jackson Free School: Principal J. H. Beatty, \$300; Miss Mary Moseley, \$187.50; Miss Lou Jones, \$137.50; and

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<sup>126</sup> Southron, August 6, 1847.

<sup>127</sup> House Journal, 1849, 164.

<sup>128</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1860, 276.





Mrs. Amanda Bell, \$150.<sup>129</sup> The Board of Visitors reported that 128 pupils attended the public schools during the first term and 143 during the second.<sup>130</sup> They recommended the erection of a seven-foot plank fence around the yard with a similar division between the playgrounds reserved for the boys and girls. The editor of the Jackson Daily News suggested that the school should have another two-story building and a competent teacher of vocal and instrumental music.<sup>131</sup>

Judson Institute was the only school in the county to attempt the combination of manual labor and intellectual development. In 1835 the Mississippi Baptist Educational Society organized for the purpose of establishing such a school, which would also train "pious young men for the gospel ministry."<sup>132</sup> The institution was incorporated in 1836,<sup>133</sup> and for a short time it was located at Society Ridge, in the northwestern part of the county.<sup>134</sup> Two years afterwards it was moved to Palestine

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<sup>129</sup> Jackson Daily News, March 27, 1860.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., July 10, 1860.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> A. V. Rowe, History of Mississippi College (Jackson, 1881), 4; Leavell and Bailey, Complete History of Mississippi Baptists, II, 1243.

<sup>133</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1836, 382.

<sup>134</sup> Jesse Laney Boyd, A Popular History of the Baptists in Mississippi, 104; Biographical and Historical Memoirs, II, 372.





in order to obtain a "healthier and more fertile location." This also proved unwise because the community contained few Baptists and the "surrounding country was too poor to support a school."<sup>135</sup>

An advertisement in 1838 announced that the school was under the supervision of a graduate of a Northern university and that a varied curriculum was offered. Judson Institute was located "far removed from dissipation, in every form, --in a good, moral neighborhood, near a church, and five miles from the nearest retail store."<sup>136</sup> The school had good instructors and yet there was insufficient patronage to justify its continued operation at Palestine; consequently it was moved to Carroll County, Mississippi, in 1840.<sup>137</sup>

Another institution, known as the College in Jackson, opened on January 15, 1845, in the Eagle Hotel. The first faculty included prominent citizens of the town who had specialized in certain advanced subjects as medicine, law, civil engineering, Latin, Greek, and mathematics.<sup>138</sup> When the school was incorporated, the governor, the faculty, and ten men in Jack-

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<sup>135</sup> Boyd, Popular History of the Baptists in Mississippi, 104; Leavell and Bailey, Complete History of Mississippi Baptists, II, 1245.

<sup>136</sup> Raymond Times, November 30, 1838.

<sup>137</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1840, 175.

<sup>138</sup> Mayes, History of Education in Mississippi, 57; Southron, September 17, 1845; Biographical and Historical Memoirs, II, 327.



son were named as trustees; the act also specified that no religious group should have jurisdiction over its management. 139

The founders had hoped to secure financial assistance from either the city or the state government; however neither gave any such aid to foster the educational institution. The faculty stated that they hoped to teach all boys "to spell, write, and read well" in addition to preparing them for advanced college training or for the "common business of life." 140  
Degrees were conferred upon four young men in 1846, but the school was forced to abandon operations the following year. 141

Bishop William Mercer Green urged the Episcopal Conventions of 1850 and 1851 to establish a "Central or Diocesan Institution --of the highest classical and mathematical grade, and at the same time of a decidedly religious character." 142  
As a result the Mississippi Episcopal Institute was started in Jackson on January 1, 1852, with the Reverend M. Lewin as its Rector. The trustees rented a house and constructed two small buildings for the boarding pupils. During the first term several students were turned away because there were accommodations for only forty-five. The rector attempted to influence the boys by "the

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139 Laws of Mississippi, 1846, 419-420.

140 Mississippian, August 13, 1845.

141 Mayes, History of Education, 59.

142 Episcopal Journal, 1851, 30.





habitual inculcation of religious principles (rather, than by  
 theoretical teaching."<sup>143</sup> The Episcopal Diocese of Mississippi  
 purchased one hundred and forty acres of land and buildings  
 located about a mile west of the city limits.<sup>144</sup> The citizens  
 of Jackson contributed \$4,000 towards the purchase price of  
 \$5,000; it was anticipated that people throughout the state would  
 help support the institution, which was incorporated as St.  
 Andrew's College in October, 1852.<sup>145</sup>

For a short time the school was "in a flourishing con-  
 dition," but unfortunately that did not continue. It averaged  
 about fifty students for two or three years, and classes were  
 organized for both the preparatory and collegiate departments.  
 The patronage was greatly reduced by the repeated yellow fever  
 epidemics. Finally the trustees reported that the school would  
 be forced to close unless \$20,000 was obtained by August,  
 1855.<sup>146</sup> Conditions did not improve and the money was not sub-  
 scribed; therefore the trustees ordered the suspension of St.  
 Andrew's College on February 1, 1856.<sup>147</sup> Probably some lack of

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<sup>143</sup> Episcopal Journal, 1852, 63, 65.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 18, 72.

<sup>145</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1852, 26.

<sup>146</sup> Episcopal Journal, 1855, 67.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 1856, 53.





interest and financial support could be attributed to the establishment of the University of the South under the control of all the Southern Dioceses of the Episcopal Church.<sup>148</sup>

Mississippi College was the only educational institution in the central part of the state to continue operation throughout most of the ante-bellum period; however, it was controlled by several different groups in succession. On January 24, 1826, the legislature incorporated Hamstead Academy at Clinton under the direction of some prominent men of that town.<sup>149</sup> The following year it was changed to Mississippi Academy, and the trustees were permitted to raise as much as \$25,000 by lottery or similar means.<sup>150</sup> Afterwards it became known as Mississippi College with power to confer "such degrees in the fine arts, sciences and languages, as are conferred in the most respectable colleges in the United States."<sup>151</sup> The first session started in 1827 with one teacher and a few pupils, but within three months there were two men instructing thirty boys and girls in separate classes.<sup>152</sup> The legislature permitted the school to receive all

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<sup>148</sup> Nash Burger, Battle Hill and St. Andrew's College (MS., article to be published in the Journal of Mississippi History, in possession of Nash Burger, Jackson, Mississippi).

<sup>149</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1826, 23-25.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 1827, 85-86.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 1830, 101-102.

<sup>152</sup> Hayes, History of Education in Mississippi, 80.



of the revenue from the Seminary Literary Fund for a few years, and also lent it \$5,000 to erect buildings.<sup>153</sup> The first diplomas were granted to two young ladies in June, 1832,<sup>154</sup> when the public examinations and closing exercises lasted for five days.

The trustees transferred their control to the Presbyterians from 1842 to 1850. This denomination secured an excellent faculty, and the school prospered in every way before the Presbytery divided into the Old School and New School factions. New buildings were erected and new courses were offered. A literary society was established in 1846 for the advancement of more cultural activities and the study of oratory.<sup>155</sup>

The trustees offered the grounds and buildings of Mississippi College to the legislature for a normal school. The state already held a mortgage on the property and nothing had been paid on the loan granted in 1829. A committee was sent to investigate the situation, but the men reported the existence of "insurmountable objections." One reason was that the buildings were too extensive and thus would require too much money for

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<sup>153</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1827, 85-86; 1829, 54-55.

<sup>154</sup> Mayes, History of Education in Mississippi, 83.

<sup>155</sup> A. V. Rowe, History of Mississippi College, 9; Brough, "Historic Clinton," in loc. cit., 296; Boyd, Popular History of Baptists, 296.





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repairs and upkeep. This statement was ridiculous, since there were only two brick buildings and a frame residence, which in 1850 had a total valuation of only \$11,000.

In 1850 the Mississippi State Baptist Convention assumed the management of Mississippi College, a school financially involved and without endowment.<sup>157</sup> During the session of 1853-1854, although almost all of the 137 students were enrolled in the preparatory department, four regular college classes were organized. Much emphasis was placed upon the most extensive study of Greek and Latin history and writers, mathematics, chemistry, and all branches of philosophy. President I. N. Urner frequently delivered illustrated lectures on such subjects as heat, electricity, optics, astronomy, acoustics, pneumatics, galvanism, mechanics, magnetism, and hydrostatics.<sup>158</sup>

The school developed in attendance and financial standing under Baptist administration, and the student body averaged about one hundred and thirty per session during the 1850's.<sup>159</sup> At

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House Journal, 1848, 485-486, 505.

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Rowe, History of Mississippi College, 10; William H. Weathersby, "A History of Mississippi College," in Mississippi Historical Society, Publications, Centenary Ser., V (1925), 193.

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Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Mississippi College for the Year 1853-4, Clinton, Mississippi (Vicksburg, 1854), passim. Hereinafter the series is cited as Catalogue of Mississippi College.

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Weathersby, "History of Mississippi College," in loc. cit., 214, quoting the Minutes of the State Baptist Convention, 1859, 22-25.





the opening of the eighth session under Baptist control, the trustees reported that the school was adequately endowed with \$102,000; therefore the faculty was not tempted "to tolerate lazy boys with their low scholarship, or vicious boys with their irregularities." The five instructors promised to maintain "decided and healthful" discipline and a high standard of scholarship.<sup>160</sup> Contributions were collected for the construction of a three-story school chapel one hundred and ten feet long and fifty-six feet wide. This brick structure, costing about \$25,000, was used as a combination school chapel and church for the Baptists in Clinton after its completion in 1860.<sup>161</sup> For the session of 1859-1860, the enrollment of two hundred and one students included three seniors, twelve juniors, seven sophomores, sixteen freshmen, one hundred and forty-eight in the preparatory department,<sup>162</sup> and fifteen in the "Scientific Courses."

The legislature enacted an unusual law in regard to the schools at Clinton; it provided a heavy fine upon any individual in the town who sold, lent, or credited articles to the boys and girls without written authority from their parents or the principals of the schools. These merchants were prohibited from renting

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<sup>160</sup> Hinds County Gazette, August 25, 1858.

<sup>161</sup> Weathersby, "History of Mississippi College," in loc. cit., 199; Catalogue of Mississippi College, 1860-61, 5; Hinds County Gazette, March 7, 1860.

<sup>162</sup> Catalogue of Mississippi College, 1859-1860, passim.



or selling the students such things as "any goods, wares, merchandize, clothing, meat, drink, entertainment, hack, or other carriage, horse, or other riding animal, or other thing in the way of his trade, business or occupation." Any person violating this law was required to pay to the school which the student attended the price of the thing lent or sold besides a penalty of twenty dollars for each offense. Strict rules regulated the obtaining of a license to sell any vinous or spirituous liquors within five miles of the town of Clinton. <sup>163</sup>

The catalogue for the session of 1854-1855 contained a list of "Things Forbidden" the boys attending Mississippi College; these rules were typical of those required in many of the boarding schools of the ante-bellum period. This particular group of restrictions included

1. Using profane or vulgar language.
2. Playing cards, billiards, or other unlawful games, or raffling.
3. Leaving town without previously obtaining permission from the Principal, or in his absence, from some other officer.
4. Attending races.
5. Indulging in pleasure rides on Sunday.
6. Taking lessons, out of college, in art or science, during term time, without permission.
7. Being out of room during study hours, especially on the streets, without permission, or being absent or tardy at prayers or recitation.

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<sup>163</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1854, 469-471.





8. Being out of room at night after the commencement of study hours except to attend Church on Sabbath evening, or for other objects sanctioned by the officers.
9. Smoking in College buildings.
10. Keeping gun-powder, fire-arms, or deadly weapons of any kind about the person, or in the room.
11. Visiting groceries, or other places, where intoxicating liquors are sold.
12. Allowing disorder in the room.
13. Attending any exhibition of an immoral tendency.
14. Entering the grounds or premises of other persons, so as to molest or injure.
15. Engaging in frolics of a noisy, disorderly, or immoral nature.
16. In cases of offenses not enumerated, such punishment will be inflicted as may be just and necessary. 164

The College in Jackson was the only ante-bellum school in Hinds County to offer medical instruction, but there were at least four hospitals in the county before 1860. Dr. Henry J. Holmes conducted the Spring Ridge Hospital from 1842 until it was destroyed by fire in 1856.<sup>165</sup> The buildings and equipment were valued at \$15,000 and twenty patients could be accommodated at the same time.<sup>166</sup> In 1854 Dr. S. Alexander opened a hospital at Clinton for the purpose of treating many chronic diseases.<sup>167</sup> Three years later Dr. J. S. Wise promised to restore patients to

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<sup>164</sup> Catalogue of Mississippi College, 1854-1855, 25.

<sup>165</sup> Hinds County Gazette, February 20, 1856.

<sup>166</sup> Mississippian, September 2, 1842; Southron, April 23, 1847; Hinds County Gazette, May 1, 1851.

<sup>167</sup> Hinds County Gazette, March 20, 1854.

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health by "using nature's simple remedies" and the methods followed by the doctors in the largest water cure resorts in the United States. Dr. Wise called his establishment the Pine Grove Water Cure and Hygienic Institute.<sup>168</sup> In 1860 Dr. H. Estes maintained an infirmary for the medical and surgical treatment of Negroes at his home in Edwards.<sup>169</sup>

Religious organizations developed in Hinds County until in 1860, there were twenty-three church buildings valued at \$96,400.<sup>170</sup> The minutes of some of the ante-bellum churches give a fairly accurate picture of the customary activities. At first the services were conducted by traveling ministers, who were often sent as missionaries from the older states; then one man would serve as pastor for several small groups. In most instances the church organization existed for some years before a building was erected and a regular pastor was secured. There were no colored churches, as the slaves were permitted to join the white churches. Another interesting custom was that the church officers attempted to regulate each person's personal affairs as well as his spiritual life.<sup>171</sup> The study of particular

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<sup>168</sup> Hinds County Gazette, July 15, 1857.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., November 28, 1860.

<sup>170</sup> Population of the United States in 1860, 345.

<sup>171</sup> Joseph C. Robert's interesting article discusses similar conditions in ante-bellum Virginia. See "Excommunication: Virginia Style," in South Atlantic Quarterly, XL (1941), 243-268.



organizations will reveal the application of these general characteristics.

In 1823 the legislature designated a committee to select lots in or near Jackson for the purpose of establishing "religious and charitable institutions and burying grounds."<sup>172</sup> A few years later the legislature set aside square number thirteen, north, "for the use and purpose of erecting churches of different denominations, for religious worship" in Jackson. The square was divided into four equal parts, which would become the property of the organized groups upon the payment of five hundred dollars,<sup>173</sup> an amount subsequently reduced to fifty dollars.<sup>174</sup> The Baptists and Methodists constructed churches on the designated square, but the other religious groups sold their lots and erected buildings elsewhere.

In 1838 Bishop John Jones perfected the first religious organization in Jackson by securing a minister to hold two services each month for the few Methodist citizens. While Jones preached to the small congregation of twelve inside the old State House, several intoxicated young men stood outside for the purpose of distracting attention from the sermon. This action made

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<sup>172</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1823, 53.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 1837, 336.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 1838, 320.





the Bishop more determined to establish a church in the capital. <sup>175</sup>

Many citizens of all denominations contributed money to erect a building on the northwest corner of Congress and Yazoo Streets; <sup>176</sup> the church was completed and dedicated in March, 1839. <sup>176</sup> An annex was added for the Negro members in 1860, but all of the <sup>177</sup> services were under the direction of white men.

The Methodists were the first to erect a church building <sup>178</sup> in Raymond. This was frequently used as an assembly room for public gatherings, which may explain the editorial requesting that the officers repair the broken windows, provide "spitting boxes," and dust the pews. <sup>179</sup> In 1858 this congregation offered liberal wages to "an old fashioned Wesleyan Methodist, who does not smoke cigars, and who is willing to visit the poor of the <sup>180</sup> flock and attend Sabbath School." People from all parts of the county attended the camp meetings near Brownville. The services were held beneath a roof of green oak branches placed on horizontal rafters. For the duration of the revival, families

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<sup>175</sup> Jones, Complete History of Methodism, II, 381-382.

<sup>176</sup> Southern Sun, March 12, 1839; J. M. Sullivan, History of the Galloway Memorial Church, Centennial Pamphlet (Jackson, 1938).

<sup>177</sup> Jackson Daily News, April 25, 1860.

<sup>178</sup> Jones, Complete History of Methodism, II, 393.

<sup>179</sup> Raymond Gazette, October 24, 1845.

<sup>180</sup> Hinds County Gazette, February 17, 1858.





lived in the "neat and substantial wood huts" built on the  
 181 grounds. *Raymond Times*, September 13, 1839.

Many families who settled in Hinds County had been members  
 of the Episcopal Church in the Eastern states; consequently it  
 was natural for them to establish such religious organizations  
 after moving to Mississippi. In April, 1837, the Reverend  
 James McGregor Dale organized an Episcopal Church at Clinton,  
 182 which was served by many visiting pastors. The members bought  
 the old Methodist Church and appropriately renovated it for  
 183 their religious worship; however it was thought advisable  
 184 to abandon this parish in 1850. For several years services  
 were held in connection with the parochial school for girls or  
 the Mount Salus Female Academy, which the Episcopal Diocese  
 185 bought in 1853.

The Reverend Dale also started the St. Mark's Episcopal  
 186 Church at Raymond in 1837. For many years the visiting

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181 Raymond Times, September 13, 1839.

182 Clinton Gazette, April 22, 1837.

183 Episcopal Journal, 1859, 3.

184 Ibid., 1850, 54.

185 Ibid., 185.

186 Valentine Hunter Sessions, Short Histories of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Brandon, Mississippi; St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Raymond, Mississippi; St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, Clinton, Mississippi (Brandon, 1937), 29.



ministers conducted services in the courthouse or school room; on one occasion Bishop Green told that the proprietor of a "public saloon kindly tendered" his establishment for that purpose.<sup>187</sup> A building was not completed until 1855 because the congregation was small and the financial situation was unfavorable.<sup>188</sup> One report mentioned plans to conduct a Sabbath School since a society in Philadelphia had donated the necessary materials.<sup>189</sup> Among the influential persons who worshipped there were the members of the Thomas Dabney family.

St. Andrew's Church at Jackson was organized by the Right Reverend Leonidas Polk "at candlelight" on April 16, 1839,<sup>190</sup> but no resident pastor came until 1843.<sup>191</sup> Many fairs and musical concerts were given to secure funds for a church building.<sup>192</sup> The cornerstone of this structure was laid with elaborate ceremonies in November, 1846;<sup>193</sup> however financial difficulties delayed its completion until 1853. The ladies raised funds and

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<sup>187</sup> Episcopal Journal, 1854, 22.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 1855, 17.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 1843, 21.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 1839, 23.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 1844, 30.

<sup>192</sup> Southron, June 7, 1843; House Journal, 1844, 186.

<sup>193</sup> Southron, November 11, 1846.





installed "a handsome and finely toned organ" at a cost of six hundred dollars.<sup>194</sup> The construction work was promptly financed by the congregation, and the report of the church in 1853 stated that it was "self-supporting and out of debt."<sup>195</sup> In 1846 the Reverend Amos Cleaver taught the "principles of morality and virtue" as well as Episcopal doctrines to the Negroes of Jackson.<sup>196</sup> Slaves were permitted to be communicants of this congregation, which had a total of eighty-two members in 1853.<sup>197</sup>

In 1827 the Mount Salus (Clinton) Church was received under the care of the Mississippi Presbytery.<sup>198</sup> This small congregation was served by a young minister, who added eighteen members to the church in 1828.<sup>199</sup> It seems that the Methodists and Presbyterians jointly used a church building until 1832; when the latter purchased a lot for the construction of another building.<sup>200</sup> This was probably the earliest Presbyterian organization in Hinds County.

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<sup>194</sup> Episcopal Journal, 1850, 49.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 1853, 63.

<sup>196</sup> Southron, March 4, 1846.

<sup>197</sup> Episcopal Journal, 1853, 63.

<sup>198</sup> Extracts from the Minutes of the Mississippi Presbytery, with the Narrative of the State of Religion (Natchez, 1829), 10.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>200</sup> Deed Book of Hinds County, 1832.





The Bethesda Presbyterian Church was started in the fall of 1828 with a fourth of its members being immigrants from Scotland.<sup>201</sup> This small congregation always had able, well-paid pastors although it was in a somewhat isolated section. The members contributed generously, participated in the singing,<sup>202</sup> and maintained an excellent Sunday School. This church greatly influenced "the intelligence, morality, and piety" of the entire neighborhood for more than fifty years.<sup>203</sup>

The Reverend Peter Donan and four charter members organized a Presbyterian Church in Jackson on April 8, 1837. Five years later the total membership included twenty-nine white persons and twelve slaves.<sup>204</sup> On May 21, 1843, the Reverend Le Roy J. Halsey preached a sermon which initiated the movement to erect a church building.<sup>205</sup> The following October the sum of \$465 was paid for a lot one hundred and sixty feet square on the northwest corner of State and Yazoo Streets. A church building, designed

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<sup>201</sup> Joseph A. Graves, The History of the Bethesda Presbyterian Church, in Hinds County, Mississippi (Richmond, 1879), 6-7.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>204</sup> J. L. Power, "History of the First Presbyterian Church," quoted in Records of First Presbyterian Church, Jackson, Mississippi.

<sup>205</sup> Le Roy J. Halsey, A Discourse Preached on Sabbath, May 21, 1843, for the Erection of a Presbyterian Church in the City of Jackson, Mississippi (Philadelphia, 1843).



by William Nichols, was completed at a total cost of six thousand dollars. Many non-Presbyterians generously contributed to this cause, and the two Presbyterian Churches at Natchez and Port Gibson sent \$1,600. The Reverend Halsey deserved most of the credit for directing activities during the early period of the Presbyterian Church in Jackson.

The congregation increased rapidly enough for a Sunday School to be established in the spring of 1848; prior to that time the children had attended a Union Sunday School at the Baptist Church. Most of the pews in the Presbyterian Church were rented by the individual members, who obtained them at public auction; some were reserved as free seats for visitors. <sup>207</sup> In 1858 there was a two-weeks' meeting of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Old School), and the delegates came to Jackson from all parts of the United States. <sup>208</sup> In 1839 and 1840 the session admitted a few Negroes on profession of faith; however, this practice was discontinued when the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church refused to grant them letters of dismissal to other churches. New members were received by letters

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<sup>206</sup> Minutes of the Session and Records of the First Presbyterian Church, 1837-1860 (MSS., in First Presbyterian Church, Jackson, Mississippi).

<sup>207</sup> Southron, March 4, 1846.

<sup>208</sup> Weekly Mississippian, May 26, 1858.





from all parts of the United States such as Erie, Pennsylvania; Warren, Massachusetts; Utica, New York; Marietta, Ohio; Wilmington, Delaware; and Galveston, Texas. Two of the most active leaders were from Scotland and Ireland. <sup>209</sup>

Jackson contained the only Roman Catholic Church in Hinds County before 1860; this was a small frame building on the corner of President and Court Streets. The state deeded this lot to the Catholics for fifty dollars in 1844, <sup>210</sup> and two years later a building was completed. Elaborate ceremonies marked the dedication, and the Vicksburg Church sent its choir to sing for the occasion. The congregation of four hundred members included men and women from many European nations. <sup>211</sup> The members provided a church bell, organ, and rectory on the church lot. For seven years a parochial school was conducted by Sisters of Mercy or priests. One priest, the Reverend F. X. Leray, heroically served the citizens of all denominations during the yellow fever epidemics from 1852 to 1855. <sup>212</sup>

There were at least twelve Baptist churches in Hinds County before 1860. It is not known when or where the first organization

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<sup>209</sup> Minutes of the Session of the Presbyterian Church, 1837-1860.

<sup>210</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1844, 148.

<sup>211</sup> Richard Oliver Gerow, Catholicity in Mississippi (Natchez, 1939), 143-144.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 145.





was started, but in 1831 the Union Baptist Church and the Baker's Creek Baptist Church were incorporated by the legislature and were authorized to hold property.<sup>213</sup> This denomination rapidly increased its membership in Hinds County during the 1840's and 1850's; for example, in September, 1842, fifty-two persons joined the Beulah Church, near Brownsville.<sup>214</sup> In 1853 there was a widespread revival with eighty members being added to the Clinton Church,<sup>215</sup> one hundred at Raymond,<sup>216</sup> and eighty-five at Brownsville.<sup>217</sup>

The minutes of the "Old New Salem Baptist Church" give an interesting description of religious life in that neighborhood. It is fairly typical of other church activities of that period, especially in the smaller communities. The Baptist denomination seems to have spent much time discussing the personal affairs of the members. At this particular church few Negroes were brought up for trial, although one-half of the congregation was colored in January, 1846. Frequently the church officers would

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<sup>213</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1831, 58-60.

<sup>214</sup> Southron, September 1, 1842.

<sup>215</sup> Hinds County Gazette, June 22, 1853.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., August 10, 1853.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., August 24, 1853.



not settle some question for several meetings; for example, the controversy regarding William Spencer's step-son, a type to be explained later, continued for more than a year.<sup>218</sup>

The church officers felt that they were justified in considering anything relating to the conduct of the members. William Henley admitted he was guilty of using language "which the Scripture does not authorize." Two men were sent to investigate Calvin Bray's continued absence from services. A committee was appointed "to bring about a reconciliation between Wm. Farquhar and Mary Farquhar." William Farquhar publicly admitted that he was guilty of playing cards for amusement, and he was "admonished to be more guarded for the future." J. F. Cates said he talked of cheating Daniel Crenshaw in a "horse swap," but that he really meant nothing by the "very unguarded expression." Araminta Feltz explained why she delayed writing for her letter of dismissal.<sup>219</sup>

Delegates from three other churches were called to help settle the controversy concerning William Spencer and William Ratliff, who was his step-son. After the death of the latter's mother, no arrangement was made for the child to receive her property. The congregation felt that Spencer should set aside

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<sup>218</sup> Minutes of the Old New Salem Baptist Church, 1838-1848 (MS., in possession of Miss Mary Ratliff, Raymond, Mississippi).

<sup>219</sup> Ibid.





funds for that purpose, because his own sons were rapidly spending their father's fortune. The investigating committee agreed that Spencer should be denied the fellowship of the church until he protected the orphan's property. Finally he presented a certificate from the Probate Court showing that the proper legal measures had been taken assuring William Ratliff of getting his share of the estate.<sup>220</sup> It was then suggested that "each and every member should extend the hand of Fellowship to Bro. Spencer," who had acknowledged his mistake.

Somewhat similar conditions existed in the Bethesda Baptist Church, for which Isaac and Mary Riser donated land on February 2, 1846. The officers frequently settled questions pertaining to personal conduct and disputes between the members; however the minutes of this church contain more discussion of the denominational expenditures than do the records of the Old New Salem Church. Throughout the ante-bellum period the congregation was most influential in the community and increased in membership until there were about two hundred white and black "Brothers and Sisters."<sup>221</sup>

The slaves were so numerous that an annex was built for them in 1848. The church officers frequently investigated the

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid.; Minutes of the Probate Court, 1844 (MS., in Hinds County Courthouse, Raymond, Mississippi).

<sup>221</sup> Minutes of the Bethesda Baptist Church, 1846-1860.

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conduct of the Negroes; for example, Peggy, a servant of J. H. Collins, was excluded after she was "found guilty of falsehood." Phillis was temporarily denied fellowship for being disobedient to her mistress. The officers decided "to bear with Mariah for taking a bed quilt top without leave." David was excluded as a result of carrying eggs to Newtown and "of selling corn in Jackson and buying liquor." In October, 1856, the Negroes made<sup>222</sup> up about forty per cent of the total membership.

Although the collections were never very large, the congregation made many lasting improvements on the property. The records do not give the cost of erecting the building, which was extensively repaired in 1855. A fence sixty feet square and five planks high was built of the best oak timber for the purpose of enclosing the graveyard. Dressing rooms were constructed near the baptismal pool, which was really a pond several miles from the church building. The grounds were always kept in good condition with the hedges properly trimmed and cultivated. The church was white-washed and curtains were made for<sup>223</sup> the windows.

The records of Bethesda Church include information about many of its activities. A few prominent men seem to have directed financial and spiritual matters from the organization of

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<sup>222</sup>Ibid.

<sup>223</sup>Ibid.



Bethesda Church until 1860. One person was paid for "keeping the house in order"; for some reason this salary increased from seven dollars in 1852 to eighteen dollars in 1857. Among the financial expenditures of the church were the following: water bucket, stamps, record book, wine, "suit to baptize in," three quires of paper, stoves, twenty-four copies of "Psalmody or Psalmist," and hinges.<sup>224</sup>

As early as 1836 the Baptists in Jackson gave a fair to raise money for a church building. This undertaking netted eight hundred dollars,<sup>225</sup> but a lot was not purchased until four years later. The Baptists accepted the offer of the southwest section of square number thirteen, north, for fifty dollars.<sup>226</sup> The Reverend L. B. Holloway and six others organized the church in May, 1839, and he served for several years as its pastor.<sup>227</sup> A large brick building was completed about 1845; the congregation increased and conditions were satisfactory until the yellow fever epidemic from 1853 to 1855. This auditorium was often used by other religious groups prior to the erection of their own

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Mississippian, February 26, 1836.

<sup>226</sup> Laws of Mississippi, 1840, 120.

<sup>227</sup> W. R. Hollingsworth, History of the First Baptist Church, Jackson, Mississippi, 1836-1936 (n.p., n.d.).





churches.

In 1860 there existed the following organized, active churches in Hinds County: Baptist, seven; Christian, two; Methodist, eight; Presbyterian, three; Episcopal, two; and Roman Catholic, one. The twenty-three buildings had a total seating capacity of 8,160 and were valued at \$98,400. These church groups provided all the religious facilities for the 8,976 white persons and the 22,399 Negroes in the county.









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From the 11th to the 20th.

From the 21st to the 31st.

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